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HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA



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HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

FROM 1873 TO 1884

TWELVE EVENTFUL YEARS

WITH CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF GALEKALAND,
TEMBULAND, PONDOLAND, AND BETSHUANALAND UNTIL
THE ANNEXATION OF THOSE TERRITORIES TO THE
CAPE COLONY, AND OF ZULULAND UNTIL ITS
ANNEXATION TO NATAL

BY

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GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, LISBON, ETC., ETC., ETC.

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HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

FROM 1873 TO 1884.

CHAPTER XV.

HISTORY OF ZULULAND (*continued*).

THE so-called settlement of Zululand by Sir Garnet Wolseley broke down almost at once. The elements of discord were numerous, and nothing but a central power with a strong force to support it could have preserved order for any length of time. In many of the thirteen districts there were men living who were of higher rank by birth than the nominal rulers, and this alone was sufficient to bring about confusion and strife. It was believed by Sir Garnet that the Zulus had been completely disarmed, but this was far from being the case, and if in truth every stabbing assagai had been given up, others could be manufactured without difficulty and with hardly any fear of detection by prying Europeans. The regiments were indeed broken up, and there was no longer open drilling, but for strife among themselves this made little difference. Jealousy of each other was prevalent among the chiefs, and soon there was anarchy in the greater part of the country. White men were engaged by the petty rulers to assist them, which usually made matters worse.

John Dunn alone attempted to govern in a kind of civilised manner. He levied a hut-tax of ten shillings a year upon his subjects, appointed magistrates to try civil and criminal cases, and even made roads in a few localities. He declared that the revenue was absorbed in this manner, and it may have been, but the fines, which he frequently

inflicted upon individuals who displeased him, went into his own pocket. He was generally believed to be a very wealthy man, with large investments in Natal.

Mr. Wheelwright resigned the position of British representative in Zululand after a very short experience of the difficulties of the position, and was succeeded by Mr. Melmoth Osborn, who was acquainted with Zulu customs and conversant with the Zulu language. Mr. Osborn was an able man, and perhaps if he had been given authority and the country had been annexed to the British dominions all might have gone on well, but the British government declined responsibility of any kind for maintaining order, and directed that each of the thirteen heads of districts was to be regarded as an independent sovereign.

Under these circumstances there was almost constant quarrelling and plundering, and in faction fights more blood was shed than during the whole period of Ketshwayo's government before the war. As an instance, a man named Sitimela, who had been living in Natal, made his appearance in Zululand, and claimed to be a grandson of Dingiswayo, of higher rank than Mlandela, who had been appointed ruler of a district by Sir Garnet Wolseley. A large proportion of the Umtetwa supported his pretensions, and he attempted to drive Mlandela away and take his place as a petty sovereign. He might have succeeded, if in July 1881 John Dunn had not marched against him with a strong force that defeated his partisans with great slaughter and drove him with the remnant of his adherents to take refuge as fugitives in the Transvaal Republic. As another instance, over a thousand of the Abaqulusi, men, women, and children, perished in October 1881 in a quarrel with Hamu.

The feeling of devotion to Ketshwayo had been partly lost by many of the descendants of the incorporated tribes when he was removed from the country, but the religious tie that bound him to the pure Zulus was not weakened, and it seemed now to most of them that his restoration

was necessary to preserve them from annihilation. Even several of the appointed heads of districts were of this opinion, though Sibebe, Hamu, and John Dunn were determined not to relinquish their power if they could help it. Deputation after deputation—one in April 1882 consisting of nearly two thousand individuals—was sent to Natal to beg Governor Sir Henry Bulwer to represent the condition of things to the authorities in England and to forward their request that Ketshwayo might be sent back to them under conditions that would make him a child of the queen. The bishop of Natal too, who believed Ketshwayo to be an innocent and injured man, was doing all that was in his power to aid this movement. He was acting in Natal indeed as Dr. Philip had acted in the Cape Colony half a century before, and unfortunately with a similar result to those whom he conscientiously believed needed his advocacy. Another champion of Ketshwayo was Lady Florence Dixie, the special correspondent of a leading London newspaper, who wrote strongly in favour of his return. The government of the Transvaal Republic also, fearing that the anarchy and strife in Zululand would have the same result as the similar condition of things was causing on their south-western border, thereby involving them in great difficulties, on more than one occasion represented to the imperial authorities that the return of Ketshwayo was desirable to restore order. This must not be taken to imply that they admired the Zulu chief's method of governing, but that they regarded it as preferable to no government at all, and, as has been stated before, they were never in fear of him.

On the other hand practically all of the Natal colonists were strongly opposed to such a step, believing that, no matter what conditions were imposed upon him, Ketshwayo, if restored, would find means to build up again the military system, which was such a menace to his neighbours that its overthrow had become necessary in the interests of civilisation. On the 1st of December

1881 the legislative council of that colony unanimously decided "that the return of Ketshwayo to Zululand or its neighbourhood would imperil the maintenance of peace and order in South Africa, and would be inimical to the best interests of the native tribes."

Meantime the captive Zulu chief was being treated with as much consideration and kindness as was possible, though naturally nothing could compensate him for loss of liberty and separation from his people. It was recognised that confinement within a limited space within the walls of the castle of Good Hope must be exceedingly irksome to a man accustomed to take abundant exercise daily, and after a time a small farm with a good house upon it was obtained near Mowbray in the Cape peninsula, and he and his retinue and attendants were removed to it. Here, at Oude Molen, as the estate was called, he could take as much exercise as he pleased, while he was protected from the intrusion of idle visitors. He conducted himself with perfect propriety and great dignity, but repeatedly expressed a strong desire to be permitted to go to England and lay his case before the queen, when he felt confident he would be allowed to return to his country and his people.

The British authorities were willing to grant his request, but some delay occurred in making the necessary arrangements and bringing from Zululand the men whom he wished to accompany him. At length, on the 12th of July 1882 he left Table Bay in the mail steamer *Arab*, accompanied by the chiefs Mkosana, Ngobazana, and Ngongcwana, and four Zulu servants. A competent interpreter, Mr. R. Dunn, (not related to the chief John Dunn), went with him, and Mr. Henrique Shepstone (a son of Sir Theophilus) was in charge of the party.

There was nothing of any importance occupying the attention of the English people at the time, so a visit from a celebrated "black king," as he was called, was a welcome event. He was received and treated as if he had

been a beneficent civilised ruler who had merely done his duty to his people by heroically endeavouring to protect them against an invading army. Great crowds assembled to cheer him wherever he went, deputations from various societies waited upon him, he was taken to see places of interest far and near, in short he was made the lion of the day, such as no white head of a third rate state would have been. As the guest of the British government he was provided with everything that could tend to his comfort, and was fitted out with clothing in the greatest variety and of the most expensive kind. He appeared in London dressed as an English gentleman and, what is wonderful, really conducted himself as if he had been accustomed all his life to wear a silk hat and kid gloves, and to drink champagne at his dinner. Great as is the power of imitation of the ordinary African, Ketshwayo certainly excelled all his countrymen in this respect. Presents of the most incongruous kind were showered upon him, such as gold locketts and cashmere shawls for his wives and plaids and railway rugs for his own use, together with travelling trunks and cooking utensils and articles of furniture, three large waggon loads in all. He would have been utterly spoiled if it had not been that his intense desire to return to Zululand overcame all other feelings and enabled him to keep his senses.

He was very kindly received by the queen at Osborne, and was informed by her Majesty that he should be restored to his country under conditions which would be made known to him by her ministers. The measure of his happiness was now complete, but neither the prime minister, Mr. Gladstone, nor the secretary for the colonies, Earl Kimberley, could venture to act so rashly as to permit him to recover his former power. One may feel pity for a man in Ketshwayo's position, separated from his family and his associates, bereft of power and wealth such as he had once enjoyed, but no clearheaded person could wish to see that great military menace to South Africa

restored which made progress in civilisation impossible for the black man and threatened constantly the destruction of the lives and property of the European colonists. The petty rulers were not allowed to stand in the way of any change that the British authorities might determine upon, except Sibebe, who announced his intention of resisting with arms any interference in the district that had been assigned to him by Sir Garnet Wolseley. He said he had kept faithfully the conditions he had agreed to, and therefore could not be deposed or set aside. So Zululand as given back to Ketshwayo was greatly reduced in size, by Sibebe's district on the north-eastern side being cut off and all the ground between the Umhlatusi and Tugela rivers, which formed the districts given by Sir Garnet Wolseley to John Dunn and the Batlokua chief Hlubi, being formed into what was termed the Zulu Reserve. It was announced that all who wished to be independent of Ketshwayo could obtain ground there, and those who desired to be under him could move out of it. Conditions too were imposed which he was required to agree to, and which were intended to reduce his power to that of an ordinary Kaffir chief.

On the 2nd of September 1882 Ketshwayo left England in the mail steamer *Nubian*, and on the 24th of the same month reached Capetown and took up his residence once more at Oude Molen, where he was to remain until the necessary arrangements could be made by Sir Henry Bulwer, governor of Natal, for his presentation to his people. This residence at Oude Molen formed a kind of transition to the life he would lead after his return to Zululand from the luxurious life he had led in England and on the mail steamer, where a large cabin had been specially prepared for his accommodation.

At length everything was ready, and Ketshwayo and his attendants, male and female, were taken from Oude Molen to Simonstown, where they embarked in her Majesty's steam corvette *Briton* and were conveyed to

Port Durnford on the Zulu coast. The sea was smooth when the *Briton* arrived there, on the 10th of January 1883, so Ketshwayo was set ashore with his attendants, his luggage, the presents he had received in England, and a number of dogs of different breeds that he was particularly fond of. Sir Theophilus Shepstone was there to receive him, with Lieutenant-Colonel Curtis and a squadron of the sixth dragoons, a company of the fifty-eighth regiment, mounted, a company of the forty-first regiment, mounted, and two companies on foot, several other Europeans, newspaper reporters, and Sir Theophilus Shepstone's bodyguard of sixty Bantu. More to make a show than to meet actual requirements, the troops were accompanied by about one hundred and fifty waggons.

The Zulus had been informed that Ketshwayo would be presented to them at Entonjaneni, near Ulundi, and while they were assembling there the troops, acting as a guard of honour to the chief, marched slowly up from Port Durnford. Here Ketshwayo first realised that a defeated ruler is in a very different position from an unvanquished one. He had expected to see the people crowding to Port Durnford to welcome him back, and very keen was his disappointment when none were there. On the way to Entonjaneni only about fifteen hundred in little parties came to meet him, a few bringing an ox or two as a present. The most enthusiastic among them were fifteen of his wives, with his eldest son, a boy about fourteen years of age named Dinizulu, four of his little daughters, and about sixty waiting women and girls.

On the 29th of January 1883 the ceremony of presentation took place. Messengers had been sent out to call the people together, and about five thousand of both sexes were present. They were drawn up to form three sides of a hollow square, the fourth side being occupied by Sir Theophilus Shepstone's party. There was no enthusiasm, for the people had already heard that the old order of

things was not to be restored and that the Zululand of the future was not to be the Zululand of the past. The conditions which Ketshwayo had agreed to, most of which were almost identical with those imposed upon the thirteen petty rulers by Sir Garnet Wolseley, were read to the assembly by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the chief repeated his promise to observe them, and was then formally transferred to his people. Three hundred and sixty head of cattle, that had been collected by Mr. Osborn as lawful booty, were presented to him in the name of the British government, to form the nucleus of his treasury.

The conditions imposed upon Ketshwayo were:

"1. I will observe and respect the boundaries assigned to my territory by the British government.

"2. I will not permit the existence of the Zulu military system, or the existence of any military system or organisation whatever within my territory; and I will proclaim and make it a rule that all men shall be allowed to marry when they choose, and as they choose, according to the good and ancient customs of my people, known and followed in the days preceding the establishment by Tshaka of the system known as the military system; and I will allow and encourage all men living within my territory to go and come freely for peaceful purposes, and to work in Natal, or the Transvaal, or elsewhere, for themselves or for hire.

"3. I will not import or allow to be imported into my territory, by any person upon any pretence or for any object whatsoever, any arms or ammunition from any part whatsoever, or any goods or merchandise by the seacoast of Zululand, without the express sanction of the British resident, and I will not encourage, or promote, or take part in, or countenance in any way whatsoever, the importation into any part of Zululand of any arms or ammunition from any part whatsoever, or of goods or merchandise by the seacoast of Zululand, without such

sanction, and I will confiscate and hand over to the Natal government all arms and ammunition and goods and merchandise so imported into my territory, and I will punish by fine or other sufficient punishment any person guilty of or concerned in such unsanctioned importation, and any person found possessing arms, or ammunition, or goods, or merchandise knowingly obtained thereby.

"4. I will not allow the life of any of my people to be taken for any cause, except after sentence passed in a council of the chief men of my territory, and after fair and impartial trial in my presence, and after hearing of witnesses; and I will not tolerate the employment of witch-doctors, or the practice known as smelling out, or any practices of witchcraft.

"5. The surrender of all persons fugitives in my territory from justice, when demanded by the government of any British colony, territory, or province in the interests of justice, shall be readily and promptly made to such government; and the escape into my territory of persons accused or convicted of offences against British laws shall be prevented by all possible means, and every exertion shall be used to seize and deliver up such persons to British authority.

"6. I will not make any treaty or agreement with any chief, people, or government outside my territory without the consent and approval of the British government. I will not make war upon any chief, or chiefs, or people, without the sanction of the British government; and in any unsettled dispute with any chief, people, or government, I will appeal to the arbitration of the British government, through the British resident.

"7. The nomination of my successor, and of all future successors, shall be according to the ancient laws and customs of my people, and shall be subject to the approval of the British government.

"8. I will not sell, or in any way alienate, or permit or countenance any sale or alienation of any part of the land in my territory.

"9. I will permit all people now residing within my territory to there remain upon the condition that they recognise my authority, and any persons not wishing to recognise my authority, and desiring to quit my territory, I will permit to quit it and to pass unmolested elsewhere.

"10. In all cases of dispute in which British subjects are involved I will appeal to and abide by the decision of the British resident, and in all cases where accusations of offences or crimes committed in my territory are brought against my people in relation to British subjects, I will hold no trial, and pass no sentence, except with the approval of such British resident.

"11. In all matters not included within these terms, conditions, and limitations, and in all cases unprovided for herein, and in all cases where there may be doubt or uncertainty as to the laws, rules, or stipulations applicable to matters to be dealt with, I will govern, order, and decide in accordance with the ancient laws and usage of my people.

"12. I will observe and respect the boundaries of the territories placed under the appointed chief Sibebu, as also those of the territory which her Majesty's government have decided shall be set apart as reserved territory with a British resident commissioner, and I will not attempt in any way to interfere with any of the people living in those territories.

"13. I undertake to leave without interference all girls who, prior to the war in 1879, formed part of what was known as the Royal Zulu House, and who since that time have been married, as also their husbands, parents, guardians, and other relations, and I will make no claim on any of them in respect of such marriage. And I also undertake to hold no one criminally or otherwise responsible for any act of whatsoever nature or kind done

or committed during my absence from Zululand, and I will not punish or proceed against any one for such in any way.

"These terms, conditions, and limitations I engage, and I solemnly pledge my faith to abide by and respect in letter and in spirit, without qualification or reserve."

These conditions, if faithfully kept, would have made Ketshwayo harmless: their fault was the absence of means to enforce them. They rested upon the word of a barbarian, who did not have, and who could not in fairness be expected to have, such a conception of right and wrong as a civilised honourable European has. In some respects he was highly intelligent, but in others his faculties were those of a child. It was now to be seen whether in his case a written agreement covering many subjects would prove to be of greater value than all other similar contracts with Bantu chiefs in South Africa had been, that is, of no value at all.

The only one of the conditions that was objected to by the Zulus assembled at Entonjaneni was the diminution of territory, but that was just the one without which all the others would have been useless, for if the whole of his former country had been given back to Ketshwayo he would speedily have found means to regain his old authority. Mnyamana, Ndabuko (Ketshwayo's full brother), Dabulamanzi, and others who had hoped that the old order of things would be fully restored, expressed their keen disappointment over the creation of the reserve and the retention of Sibebe as an independent ruler. That was not the restoration of Ketshwayo, they said, it was his degradation. He himself also, as soon as he heard the expressions of dissatisfaction, protested against the division of Zululand, and asserted that he had only agreed to such a condition because without doing so he could not have recovered his liberty, and therefore he did not regard it as binding upon him. And immediately efforts began to be made to induce the British authorities

to cancel the restriction, efforts which were not only approved of, but abetted by the persistent champion of Zulu dynastic claims, the bishop of Natal.* So inauspiciously began the rule of Ketshwayo after his return to his people.

As British resident with the chief Mr. Henry Francis Fynn, a son of the pioneer of the same name, was appointed, and remained with him when Sir Theophilus Shepstone returned to Natal. A tent waggon was left for him to live in, and another waggon and some bell tents were given to Ketshwayo for his use until his people could build a residence for him.

The arrangements made for the reserve were reluctantly agreed to by John Dunn, though he was obliged to give up all his power. After a time he was recognised as chief of the people who chose to adhere to him, but with no greater authority than any of the heads of clans in Natal. On the 22nd of December 1882 Mr. John Wesley Shepstone, a brother of Sir Theophilus, was appointed commissioner to reside in the reserve and direct affairs in it, though it was not to be regarded as British territory. The taxation measures initiated by John Dunn were continued, in order to raise a revenue sufficient to cover the expenses. At the end of March 1883 Mr. Melmoth Osborn succeeded Mr. Shepstone with the title of British Resident Commissioner and Supreme Chief.

Even if Ketshwayo had been personally disposed to act in accordance with the conditions imposed upon him, it was out of his power to do so. He was not what he once had been, a despot with unlimited power over a great army, but was obliged to accommodate himself to the inclinations of others. Mnyamana, who was without responsibility to the British government or any other power, treated the conditions with perfect scorn. Military kraals were built by his order, and the surviving men of the Ngobamakosi and other regiments were called

* See volume ii of *The Ruin of Zululand* by Miss F. E. Colenso.

together again, though there were no big reviews to attract notice and no careful drilling as formerly. When reminded by Mr. Fynn that this was a violation of his pledges, Ketshwayo coolly asserted that the men were needed to build kraals for him, which he contended was perfectly permissible.

Next a large army was organised, and under Mnyamana's command marched to attack Sibebu and effect the conquest of his territory. On the 30th of March 1883 this army reached its destination, but was skilfully drawn into a hilly locality, where it met with a crushing defeat. Mnyamana was outgeneralled by Sibebu, whose force was inferior in number, but superior in bravery and devotion to its chief. He concealed some of his men until his opponents had passed by, when he attacked them in the rear and in front at the same time. Ketshwayo's army broke and fled. It was closely pursued to the boundary of the district, losing about a thousand men on the way. On the boundary Sibebu's forces halted, and then turned back to kill the wounded who lay on the ground, as was the usual Zulu custom. This action Ketshwayo tried to explain away by asserting that he had given no order to attack Sibebu, and was in fact ignorant of the whole transaction until it was too late to prevent it.

Early in May 1883 as large a force as could be mustered was sent against Hamu, who, however, had notice in time to prepare for defence. It was allowed to advance far from its base, and then unexpectedly Sibebu attacked its flanks while Hamu operated in front. This plan succeeded, for the Usutu, as Ketshwayo's adherents were termed, turned and fled. They were pursued, and cut down without mercy. The slaughter was greater than on the former occasion, greater even than at Kambula, the Zulus asserted. But in June Hamu was defeated and his principal kraal was burnt, when he and his people were obliged to take refuge in a tract of country containing

many caverns and natural strongholds, where they were safe from attack, but where they suffered severely from hunger.

These attacks upon Hamu were justified by Ketshwayo on the ground that his brother was a rebel, who did not live in Sibebu's territory, but on ground restored to him by the British government. But on the 14th of July he attacked Sibebu again, on this occasion without any decisive result to either side.

Sibebu now resolved to act on the offensive, and in the belief that his opponents must be disheartened by their recent reverses, in the early morning of the 21st of July he fell by surprise upon Ketshwayo's kraal at Ulundi, after marching during the greater part of the night. The Usutu were terror stricken, and made hardly any stand. Among the indunas who were in attendance on the chief was Tshingwayo, who was the commander of the Zulu army at Isandhlwana. He was at once stabbed to death. Another was Sirayo, who seized a saddled horse belonging to a Swazi who happened to be there, and assisted Ketshwayo to mount it. His son Methlokazulu took the reins and dragged the animal away, as Ketshwayo was not a good rider and his great weight caused it to stagger. Sirayo was struck down, but probably died contented, as he had done all that was possible to save his chief. Sibebu had given orders that no women or children were to be killed and there were three white men with him who presumably would act in the same spirit, but among his followers were many who were too excited to pay attention to such commands. Some of Ketshwayo's wives and several of the girls of his household perished, as did every male who did not take to flight. The great place was pillaged, all the presents received by the chief in England were taken, and then the huts and those of a military kraal close by were destroyed by fire. Nothing whatever was left, the site was as bare as a beaten road when Sibebu retired, driving with him all the cattle that had been Ketshwayo's.

While this was taking place, the young men of the attacking party were pursuing the fugitives and spearing all that were overtaken. Ketshwayo himself reached a bushy tract of country not far distant, and then told Methlokazulu to leave him, when he would endeavour to conceal himself. The faithful attendant did as he was ordered to do, and managed to get safely away. After a time several young men discovered the fugitive chief, and threw their assagais at him, one cutting the calf of his left leg, but not deeply, and another inflicting a severe wound in his right thigh. Ketshwayo in this strait exhibited all the fortitude of a Bantu chief of the best type. Standing upright and facing his assailants, "who are you," he demanded, "who dare to kill me?" They were struck with awe, and did not venture again to raise a hand against him.

For nearly three weeks he moved about from place to place, without any one knowing where he was except a few devoted followers, who dressed his wounds and supplied him with food. Then, on the 9th of August, he took shelter in the Inkandhla forest in the reserve. In Natal, and indeed everywhere in South Africa, it was believed that he was dead, but soon after his arrival in the Inkandhla it began to be rumoured that he was still alive. A week or two later this became known as a certainty to the Natal government, and as it was apprehended that his presence in the reserve might lead to fighting there, followed by a rush of fugitives across the Tugela, a military force, consisting of a squadron of the sixth dragoons and as many men of the forty-first regiment as could be mustered, was sent to Etshowe to support Mr. Osborn in trying to maintain order. Message after message was sent by the commissioner to the chief, desiring him to repair to the residency, but for more than two months he declined to do so. He was in hope that the people would rally and restore him to power once more, and was bitterly disappointed when only the sur-

viving members of his own household and a couple of hundred men came to join him in the Inkandhla.

Meantime Sibebe was carrying all before him. After his great victory at Ulundi he went to the relief of Hamu, and then speedily made himself master of all northern Zululand. The Abaqulusi were Ketshwayo's staunchest adherents, and during the night of the 3rd of October he fell upon them by surprise, routed them, and slaughtered a large proportion of their fighting men.

On learning this, all Ketshwayo's hope of relief came to an end. The unfortunate man seemed doomed to drink the cup of bitterness to the very dregs. Several farmers from the Transvaal visited him at this time with the object of ascertaining the exact condition of things, for the eastern districts of that state were kept in unrest by the frequent inroads of fugitives. Very likely their intention was to propose such a plan as that carried out a little later, but this is uncertain, for they found him so weak and despondent that they did not care to discuss matters with him. He made only one request of them, which was that they would protect his son Dinizulu, who had so far escaped capture, if he sought shelter within their territory. This they said would certainly be done, and in fact Dinizulu did take refuge at Utrecht, where he was safe from pursuit.

Mr. Fynn next had an interview with the fallen chief, whom he found careworn and much thinner in person than when he had last seen him. Ketshwayo was induced to promise that he would go to reside with the British commissioner, so an ambulance was sent for, and on the 16th of October 1883 he was conveyed to Etshowe. The wound in his thigh was not yet completely healed, so the army surgeon at once attended to it. He left his wives in the Inkandhla, but was accompanied to Etshowe by the girls of his household and about two hundred male attendants. He had not been at war with Great Britain and had done nothing criminal, so that legally he could not be detained

in confinement, though the general welfare required that he should not be left to do exactly as he pleased. He was therefore received by Mr. Osborn nominally as a guest of the British government, really as a state prisoner. Tents were given to him to live in at a short distance from the military camp until a comfortable hut could be built, and a guard of soldiers was provided, as he was told to protect him, but really to prevent him from escaping. He was in great mental distress, and frequently gave expression to a fear that he would be assassinated. On the 14th of January 1884, as some companies of the forty-first regiment had been withdrawn to be sent to Mauritius, the military guard was replaced by black policemen, which so alarmed Ketshtwayo that in the night of the 27th he made his escape from the hut and fled to the military camp. There he was joined by several of his devoted adherents, who never went far from him. But on the following day by Mr. Osborn's order he was brought back to his hut again.

The troubles of the unfortunate man were now, however, nearly over. A little before midday on the 8th of February 1884 he suddenly became faint, and four hours later was a corpse. The military doctor could not hold a post-mortem examination, as that would have irritated every Zulu in the country, but gave his opinion that heart disease was the cause of death. There can be no doubt that it was hastened by mental anxiety. There was much disputing as to where he should be buried, and also as to the length of time that should elapse before the interment, the custom of the military tribes being that the body of a supreme ruler should remain several weeks above ground, during which time the wailing of the women should be continuous. The custom was respected as far as Mr. Osborn thought it necessary to avoid giving offence. The body was fastened in a sitting position in a huge box filled with all of his personal effects that could be obtained, which was covered with black cloth, and at length was buried at the Sigqileni kraal in the Inkandhla. The grave

was made on a low neck between two hills in a wide valley, and was thereafter regarded by the Zulus as a sacred spot. No widows or attendants were slaughtered and buried with the chief, as would have been the case in former times.

Of the four supreme chiefs of the Zulu tribe, Ketshwayo was beyond dispute the best. Compared with the terrible Tshaka, the founder of the tribe, he was benevolent and humane, compared with the treacherous Dingana he was honest and truthful, compared with the slothful Panda, his father, he was energetic and progressive. It was the system of government, not the personal qualities of the man, that brought him to ruin. This has often been the same with much more prominent men than Ketshwayo. Louis XVI, of France, was a more amiable man than either of his two predecessors, but it was his fate to pay the penalty of their misconduct. In our own day Nicholas II, the best, though the weakest, of all the Romanoffs, lost the throne of Russia and his life because his predecessors were despots.

After the death of Ketshwayo the quarrels between Hamu and Sibebu on one side and the Usutu party on the other went on as before. Sometimes in a skirmish one would be successful, sometimes the other, but in any case lives were lost and property was destroyed, without any decisive result. On the whole perhaps the Usutu were the gainers. Thus on the 16th of March 1884 Sibebu attacked Mnyamana in the Ingomi forest, but was repulsed with heavy loss, when Mnyamana pursued the fugitives and burnt his opponent's principal kraal. And on the 24th of the same month Sibebu was again defeated in an attempt to recover his lost ground. It became necessary to reinforce the British troops in the reserve, so the ninety-first regiment was brought up from Capetown for that purpose, but even then Mr. Osborn was unable to maintain order there. Ketshwayo's widows accused him of having poisoned their husband, and if he had not been well protected he

would certainly have lost his life. In the night of the 10th of May 1884 his residence was attacked by a large party of the Usutu, and about a hundred of the assailants were killed before the others withdrew discomfited. The matter was discussed in the house of commons, when the policy of the ministry was approved of, which was announced to be no responsibility for or interference with any part of Zululand beyond the reserve. It was considered advisable, however, to strengthen the military force in South Africa, and the second battalion of the eighty-second or South Lancashire regiment was sent from England and arrived at Durban on the 5th of August 1884, and the thirteenth huzzars were ordered from Bombay, but did not reach Durban until the 28th of November in the same year.

The farmers in the eastern districts of the South African Republic were thus almost forced to intervene. It was impossible for them to carry on their proper industry while exposed constantly to the inroads of Zulu refugees, who whenever defeated in a skirmish fled to them for protection. They regarded what was termed the old disputed territory as theirs by right, and many of them had never ceased to use a portion of it as winter grazing ground, without being interfered with by the Zulus. This was the condition of things when Mnyamana made overtures to them for assistance on behalf of Dinizulu, and professed himself ready to agree to any reasonable conditions they should name. It was then arranged that Dinizulu should be installed as supreme chief and that a meeting should take place on the 23rd of May 1884 between the leaders of the Usutu and a committee of eight members to be elected by the farmers for the purpose of arranging terms. On the 21st of May the youth Dinizulu was placed by the farmers in front of a large assembly of the Usutu and was declared by them to be the lawful chief of the Zulus. He was received as such by the assemblage with acclamations and shouts of bayete, their highest form of

salute. Such a farce as that enacted by Sir Theophilus Shepstone when he put a tinsel crown upon Ketshwayo's head was in Dinizulu's case omitted by the republican farmers, as it had been in the case of his grandfather Panda, when Andries Pretorius installed him as a ruler of the Zulus.

At the meeting on the 23rd of May Mnyamana was the spokesman of the Usutu leaders, as he was the most powerful and influential among them, and was practically regent for Dinizulu, though Ndabuko bore that title. The farmers' committee stated that they were prepared to assist against Sibebu and restore and maintain order in the country, leaving Dinizulu to govern his people under their protection, provided they were granted eight hundred farms of three thousand morgen each in full possession and sovereignty. To this condition the Usutu leaders agreed, but either they were perfectly reckless, or they did not realise that this meant their parting with over seven thousand five hundred square miles of ground. The boundary of the land to be ceded was not settled, only it was understood that the old disputed territory was to be included in it. The government of the South African Republic had nothing whatever to do with this arrangement, it was entirely the act of private individuals forced by circumstances to provide for their own security.

The committee immediately made known throughout South Africa what had been done, and invited competent persons to take part in the venture. Applications were made chiefly by farmers in the Transvaal, but some were sent from the Orange Free State, some from the Cape Colony, and no fewer than one hundred and fifty from young men in Natal, sons of Dutch-speaking farmers in that colony. So many made application in person without any delay that in less than a fortnight three hundred men were in the field, and as Sibebu declined to submit to Dinizulu, a very strong Usutu army aided by a hundred farmers attacked him on the 5th of June, while two hundred were

so stationed as to prevent Hamu from joining him. There were nine English traders in his district, and they had always assisted him before, but on this occasion they thought it prudent to make their escape, leaving all their property behind. The farmers only fired a single volley, for Sibebu's men fled at once. The Usutu contingent, seven or eight thousand strong, was with difficulty restrained from a general slaughter, and mad with the joy of success spread over the district, plundering and laying waste all before them. The traders lost the whole of their property. One of them, Grosvenor Darke by name, assisted Sibebu to escape, and they managed to conceal themselves for several days and travel by night until on the 12th they reached Etshowe and were protected by Mr. Osborn. Ultimately some six thousand of Sibebu's people, or about one third of his followers, in a famishing state, were so fortunate as to make their way to the reserve, which became an asylum for them, as it had been for their enemies. Such were the reverses of fortune at that time in Zululand.

Hamu now thought it advisable to make peace, which he did by professing submission to Dinizulu, so that the farmers were not three weeks in the field when the war was over.

So many people had by this time perished that the Zulu tribe as a whole was only a fraction of what it had been before 1879, and large areas in the country were almost without inhabitants. To add to their trouble their corn and cattle had been destroyed in the long strife, they had been unable to cultivate gardens, and now a dire famine set in. It became necessary for the military commissariat in the reserve to purchase grain in Natal, and distribute it to the refugees there, or they would have died of starvation. It was indeed time for peace if the most renowned tribe in South Africa, the tribe that once deemed itself invincible, was not to disappear altogether.

On the 16th of August 1884 an instalment of 1,350,000 morgen of land was formally ceded by the Zulus to the farmers, and arrangements as to all other matters having been settled with the consent of both parties, Mr. Lucas Johannes Meyer, the acting state president, issued proclamations declaring the establishment of the New Republic as a sovereign independent state, and a protectorate over the remainder of Zululand beyond the reserve. At the same time a proclamation was issued by Dinizulu, with the concurrence of the leading men of the Usutu party, ratifying and confirming those by Mr. Meyer. The farmers had taken care not to trespass upon or to interfere in any way with the reserve, and so the British authorities did not interfere with them. In this manner a new South African state, though a very small one, came into existence.

A volksraad was elected, and all the machinery of a regular government was provided. A town, named Vryheid, was laid out to be the capital. Mr. P. J. Joubert was invited to be the president, and when he declined Mr. Lucas Meyer was elected and proved himself a competent man. The territory ceded was too small to provide each of the eight hundred adventurers with a farm or cattle run of the full size of three thousand morgen or six thousand English acres, so it was proposed that only those who had taken part in the first engagement should receive such grants, and those who came later smaller allotments, in many cases of only a thousand morgen.

The citizens of the New Republic were desirous that their state should be acknowledged by the British authorities, but were unable to obtain its formal recognition, though they were not directly interfered with. It was merely brought to their notice that Dinizulu was not legally the supreme chief of the Zulus, because it was stipulated in the conditions under which Ketshtwayo was restored that his successors should be approved of

by the British government, and further in the same conditions alienation of ground was prohibited.

The action of the Bremen merchant Luderitz, who tried at this time to obtain for Germany a footing on the coast of Zululand, caused Great Britain to call to mind the cession of Saint Lucia Bay by Panda in 1843, and Lieutenant-Commander Moore was sent in her Majesty's ship *Goshawk* to take formal possession of that inlet. On the 18th of December 1884 he hoisted the British flag there, and with the usual ceremonies proclaimed the bay and its shores British property. In the following year the New Republic caused a township and a number of farms to be laid out there, and advertised the sale by public auction on the 2nd of October 1885 of three hundred and four building allotments, each an acre in size, in the township. But the project came to nothing, as the governor of Natal in his capacity as special commissioner for Zululand notified that the bay and its shores belonged to Great Britain, and the farmers were apprehensive that if they attempted to occupy the surveyed ground it might lead to collision with the British government.

There was now peace in Zululand, and such order was established that the people could turn their attention to the cultivation of the ground. The only disturbing element was that Mnyamana, having gained his object, regretted the large price he had paid for it. He began to assert that by the cession of farms he had meant the use of the ground for winter grazing, not its permanent occupation. When it was proved to him in such a way that he could deny it no longer, that he had clearly understood that sovereign rights and full possession were ceded, he shifted his ground and asserted that he and the other Zulu leaders had intended to grant farms only to those who actually fought for them, and asked why all those who came into the country at a later date and had done nothing for them should obtain ground at their expense.

In this line of argument he was supported by Dinizulu, Ndabuko, and all the other leaders of the tribe. The reply of the farmers was short and to the point. Eight hundred men had been named, they said, because that number would be needed to maintain order permanently, and if there was any further repudiation of the agreement entered into they would take possession of the full extent of ground they were entitled to, which they had not yet done, leaving still for the Zulu people ample for their maintenance. This settled the matter for the time, but it was pretty certain that care must be taken not to allow the Zulus an opportunity to recover their strength or there would be trouble again.

On the 24th of June 1885 Mr. Gladstone resigned as prime minister of England, and was succeeded by Lord Salisbury, with Colonel Frederick A. Stanley as secretary of state for the colonies. It was believed that the new ministry would favour the expansion of the British dominions much more readily than their predecessors had done, whose policy had been guided by caution and a desire to avoid additional responsibility.

As matters looked so favourable from their point of view, on the 15th of July 1885 the legislative council of Natal, then in session, transmitted the following resolutions to Governor Sir Henry Bulwer, with a request that he would communicate them by telegraph to the secretary of state for the colonies:

"1. That this council recognises the fact that the interests of Zululand and of this colony are inseparable.

"2. That in the opinion of this house it is desirable that her Majesty's rule should at once be extended over the whole of Zululand.

"3. As soon as existing difficulties shall have been adjusted, this council considers that the territory should be united to Natal, upon such terms and conditions as may be mutually agreed upon between the imperial government and this colony.

"4. That this council is further of opinion that it will be for the advantage of the countries to the north of Zululand, between the South African Republic and the Portuguese frontiers, to be included in any arrangement which may be made.

These resolutions were taken into consideration by the imperial authorities, who did not consider it advisable to comply with them, as Natal made no offer to bear the expense.

In March 1886 negotiations for a settlement of Zululand were opened between Sir Arthur Havelock, governor of Natal, on behalf of the British ministry, and the authorities of the New Republic, but nothing definite had been arrived at when on the 22nd of September an event took place which brought matters to a point.

The chief Dabulamanzi, who bore a very indifferent character, was summoned to appear before a petty magistrate at Vryheid to answer to a charge of attempting to cheat a man from whom he had bought a horse, and as he did not comply, two farmers were sent to bring him by force. He was arrested, but shortly afterwards made his escape, and fled into the reserve. The farmers pursued him and arrested him the second time, but had only proceeded a few paces when he turned and attacked one of them. A scuffle followed, and he got away from them and was running to a shelter when one or both of them fired and killed him. The body was found with three wounds, any one of which would have caused death. This took place within the boundary of the reserve, and therefore it could not be overlooked by the British government.

The authorities at Vryheid at once realised the difficult position in which they were placed by the violation of territory under British control, though not under British sovereignty, and sent a commission of three members, Messrs. L. J. Meyer, P. R. Spies, and D. J. Esselen, to Maritzburg to renew the negotiations that had been

suspended with Sir Arthur Havelock, with instructions to agree to the best terms they could obtain if by doing so they could prevent military invasion and preserve the independence of the republic. They were successful in their mission, for on the 22nd of October 1886 an agreement was signed by Governor Sir Arthur Havelock and themselves, which was ratified by the imperial authorities, by which the independence of the New Republic, but with a very restricted boundary, was acknowledged, and its protectorate over the remainder of Zululand ceased.

On the 30th of September, while the discussion that led to this arrangement was going on privately at government house, Mr. J. L. Hulett brought again before the legislative council of Natal the desirability of the annexation of Zululand to that colony. The great advantage would be not only that the influx of Bantu refugees from that territory would cease, but that many thousands then in Natal would return to their former homes. Northern Zululand was then very thinly inhabited, so that there was ample space for a great many more people to occupy. The debate was adjourned, but on the 21st of October the following resolutions were adopted by twenty-two votes against those of the five heads of departments:

"1. That this colony is prepared to accept the responsibilities of the government of Zululand and the reserve.

"2. That a respectful address be presented to the governor, praying his Excellency to be pleased to send down a bill during the present session to give effect to the resolution, and that his Excellency will be pleased to communicate the resolution by telegraph to the secretary of state for the colonies."

The council then suspended its sittings until the 27th of October, pending the receipt of a reply from the secretary of state. It came on the 27th, and was to the effect that as negotiations had been opened with

the farmers in Zululand, and subsequently resumed, the proposals of the legislative council could not be entertained. This was a great disappointment to the people of Natal, and some of the elected members of the council felt the rebuff very keenly, but nothing further could then be done in the matter.

On the 19th of May 1887, however, Zululand was formally annexed to the British dominions, and a commission was issued to the governor of Natal appointing him also governor of that territory, but not otherwise incorporating it. Under this arrangement Zululand was made to comprise the former reserve and all the remainder of the territory once governed by Ketshwayo except the district of Vryheid or the New Republic, and that, being too small to maintain an independent government, on the 11th of September 1887 was incorporated in the South African Republic. The territory was divided into six districts, named Etshowe, Nkandhla, Nqutu, Entonjaneni, Ndwandwe, and Lower Umvolosi. To each of these on the 21st of June a European magistrate was appointed, with a strong body of police to support his authority. The Natal native code was proclaimed by the governor as supreme chief to be the law in force.

Not unnaturally Dinizulu, Ndabuko, Tshingana, and some others objected to these measures, and they rose in arms against them and gave so much trouble that it became necessary to hunt them down and put them upon their trial for high treason before a special court that sat at Etshowe for the purpose. They were all found guilty, and were sentenced to imprisonment for a long term of years. This was commuted by the authorities in England to banishment to the island of Saint Helena, where they were treated with the utmost consideration, were provided for in a very liberal manner, and were at liberty to go about as they pleased. Their banishment was followed by perfect order in the

territory, where everything went on so smoothly that on the 30th of December 1897 Zululand and the district between it and the Portuguese possessions* were annexed to Natal.

In this manner the most formidable of the military powers that had their origin in the early years of the nineteenth century was overthrown, to the great gain not only of Natal, which colony was now able to make a great bound forward in prosperity, but of every black man in South Africa.

* That is Tongaland, bounded on the north by a line following the parallel of the confluence of the Pongolo with the Maputa river to the Indian ocean, on the east by the Indian ocean, on the west by the Pongolo river, and on the south by Zululand, over which a British protectorate had been proclaimed on the 30th of May 1895 by Mr. C. R. Saunders, resident magistrate of Etahowe, acting under instructions from the governor of Natal.

CHAPTER XVI.

WARS OF THE CAPE COLONY IN 1879.

WHILE hostilities with the Zulus were being carried on, the Cape Colony was engaged in two petty but harassing wars: one with various little clans living along the central course of the Orange river, the other with the rebel Baputi chief Morosi, near the head waters of the same stream.

The first of these—known as the Northern Border war—was very closely connected with the disturbances in Griqualand West that have been related in another volume, and may be considered as a continuation of them. The principal actors in it were:

1. Donker Malgas, a Xosa, and captain of a band of vagrants who had wandered away from their own tribe and country and roamed about in the territory along the southern bank of the Orange river. The government had tried to induce them to lead a settled life, and allotted to some of them ground at Schietfontein, now Carnarvon, but with few exceptions they preferred to live as nomads. Their grievance was that farms were being sold to white men in what was called Bushmanland, and they could no longer move about wherever they pleased. Donker Malgas had taken part in the disturbances in Griqualand West, and after the capture of his stronghold in the Langeberg by Major Lanyon in June 1878 he had taken refuge on the islands in the Orange river with those of his followers who had escaped. There he remained quiet for a time, while he was gathering strength again, and might have been for-

gotten if he had not renewed the career of a marauder on the first favourable opportunity. He was one of those exempted from the amnesty granted to the Griqualand West rebels and their associates on the 15th of November 1878.

2. Klaas Pofadder, captain of a Korana clan. In the war of 1869 Pofadder had assisted the government, but it was because some rival captains with whom he was at feud were fighting against the colony. In such cases, however, the causes of the conduct of a supporter of the government are seldom analysed, and it was sufficient for the white people to know that Pofadder was a staunch ally, who was exerting himself to the utmost to destroy their enemies. He was regarded as another Andries Waterboer, and an agreement was made with him that he should be supplied yearly with a quantity of powder and lead, in order that he should be the strongest captain on the border and maintain there peace. He drew his allowance regularly, but got tired of being so long on one side, and in 1879 turned against his former friends. He had no particular grievance except that colonial law was too strict in taking notice of any little mistake, such as appropriating other people's cattle, committed by a zealous partisan like himself.

3. Jacobus Afrikaner. This man was head of a section of the Afrikaner clan of Hottentots that had separated from Jonker when the latter went to reside on the border of Hereroland. He and his people had lived by making periodical raids upon the clans to the northwest, but after the Herero war of liberation they could do so no longer. As he observed, they had to eat, and so they turned their attention to the European farmers and the mixed breeds on the south, or indeed to any one and every one that they could plunder. This was their normal way of obtaining the wherewithal to eat, and as they were extremely conservative in their ideas,

a change to what the Europeans termed honest industry never once occurred to them. Naturally they and the Cape government were on terms of enmity.

4. Klaas Lukas, the petty Korana captain who has been mentioned in another volume. His followers as well as those of Pofadder had Bushmen living with them, who had a good cause of complaint against the colonial government, if they had known how to express it, in that the land occupied by their ancestors from time immemorial was being parcelled out and sold without any provision being made for them. They and the Koranas were hereditary enemies, but they were now reduced to such a condition that their only means of obtaining food was by serving their pitiless foes as dogs and receiving such refuse as might be cast to them. The vast majority had perished, some few were still striving to live as their ancestors had done, though the game—their cattle—had nearly all been destroyed, and others had sunk to this most wretched condition. Klaas Lukas and Pofadder were recognised by the colonial government as the owners of a strip of land forty or fifty miles (sixty-four or eighty kilometres) wide along the northern bank of the Orange river, extending from the great falls eastward to the Griqualand West border, and Jacobus Afrikaner claimed the territory west of the falls to Schuit drift as having been given to him by the captain of the Bondelzwarts clan of Namaquas.

5. Gamka Windwai, a Griqua who was at the head of a little band of the most disaffected men in Griqualand West, men who preferred to live as outlaws rather than submit to the government under the conditions of the amnesty of the 15th of November 1878. They were of very little account, however, and shortly after the commencement of operations against them sank out of sight altogether.

If all South Africa—possibly all the world—had been searched, a more utterly worthless collection of human

beings could not have been got together than these ragamuffin vagabonds who refused to submit to the restraints of law and order, and set the colonial government at defiance. The only grievance that any of them had was that part of the ground they roamed over was being occupied as farms, but the Xosas, Koranas, and Afrikaner Hottentots would have had ample locations assigned to them if they had consented, as other members of their tribes had done, to lead settled lives. That they would not do, and there is no longer room, even in the most arid part of South Africa, for nomad barbarians to eke out a miserable existence, nor could a civilised government permit them to live by plundering graziers on their borders. As for the Bushmen, they could not cease from being wanderers, and were therefore doomed to perish.

The whole of these bands together formed but a puny force, and from a military point of view would have been utterly contemptible if they had not occupied a position where it was exceedingly difficult to grapple with them. They had their strongholds on the islands in the Orange river, but they moved about from one to another, and when they were found could nearly always elude an attack upon them. In the last extremity they could usually retreat into the Kalahari desert, where they were almost safe from pursuit.

At first the disturbances caused by these robbers were regarded by the colonial government as being a mere matter for the police to settle, but it soon became evident that they were assuming a serious form, though Klaas Pofadder was still believed to be friendly.

In May 1878 Mr. Joseph Sissison, an officer of volunteers who was then serving against the rebel Gaikas, was directed to raise a force of one hundred horsemen, and proceed to the northern border to restore order. Soon after his arrival there some cattle thefts on an extensive scale took place, and were traced to Klaas

Lukas. Captain Sissison followed the marauders, and on the 12th of July was so fortunate as to come up with them at Wilgenhout Drift, where he was able to make one hundred and thirteen of them prisoners and to retake most of their booty. Klaas Lukas himself escaped.

The other insurgents were not intimidated by this loss, so on the 29th of August Colonel Zachary Bayly, who was then in command of the duke of Edinburgh's volunteer corps, was sent up from Capetown with Lieutenant S. Jones and a small party of men. On the 24th of September the Capetown volunteer artillery followed, it being supposed that the guns would be of great use in operations against the islands. They probably would have been if the marauders' exact position at any given time had been known, but as that position might be anywhere along a line of over a hundred kilometres in length, they proved to be quite useless. Colonel Bayly's services being required elsewhere, he remained on the northern border only a few weeks, during which time he could do nothing, and on the 25th of October he arrived in Capetown again.

In November Mr. Edward Judge was sent up as special commissioner, and made several recommendations, but could not devise a plan for suppressing the disturbances speedily. Captain Sissison was now stationed at Kenhart with his northern border horse to patrol the country and keep open the line of communications. Lieutenant Jones was encamped at Olievenhout Drift with a few volunteers and a number of mixed breeds recruited in the territory to the south, and patrolled the country in that neighbourhood. Upon the two centres thus occupied the marauders kept a vigilant watch, and were careful never to expose themselves to an attack.

Captain Nesbitt, of the Cape mounted rifles, was acting as special magistrate, but as his health broke down, Mr. Maximilian Jackson, who had filled a similar

post ten years previously, was appointed special commissioner and commandant-general, and on the 17th of December 1878 arrived at Kenhart, where the office was. He then proceeded to Olievenhout Drift, and according to his instructions at once sent messages to Donker Malgas, Klaas Lukas, and Gamka Windwai, offering to all of them free pardon for the past if they would desist from robbery and settle down peaceably, but they declined to meet him or to entertain the proposal.

Mr. Jackson then raised a mixed force of over six hundred men, with whom he tried to capture the robbers, but could do nothing beyond protecting the colony from their inroads. It was very difficult to obtain supplies of food for the men and horses, as only meat was to be procured in the neighbourhood, and it was oppressively hot in midsummer, so that every one was thoroughly weary of the duty and longed to get away. Add to this that it was easier to discover jackals than to find the men wanted when they did not wish to be seen, and the condition of things can be faintly realised. The disturbance was costing the colony £10,000 a month, and no advance was being made towards ending it.

The attorney-general, Mr. Uington, accompanied from Capetown by Commandant McTaggart and a party of volunteers, then went to the scene of operations, and tried to expedite matters by taking possession of some of the islands and scouring them, upon which Mr. Jackson, who felt that he could do no more than he had been doing, resigned his post. A little later it was accidentally discovered that Klaas Lukas's people were on a particular island, and by a rapid and unexpected movement on the 27th of April 1879 a division of the colonial forces under Commandant McTaggart got possession of the place after a sharp skirmish, in which six of the attacking party were wounded. Several of the robbers were killed, and three men, thirty-six women, and thirty-nine children were made prisoners. These

were sent to a distant part of the colony, where they were detained. The spoil in cattle was not large. Most of the men who had been there had made their escape, and went farther down the river to the great falls, where Pofadder's clan was then lurking.

On learning this, Commandant McTaggart followed them, and by skilful strategy succeeded in surrounding and surprising them at their camping place. Without any loss of life he captured there one hundred and forty-six men and two hundred and seventy-eight women and children, and then took possession of thirty-two horses, four hundred and twenty-one head of horned cattle, three hundred sheep and goats, five waggons, one cart, and one hundred and seven stand of arms. Klaas Pofadder and Jacobus Afrikaner escaped with a few men. Klaas Lukas and Gamka Windwai were not there at the time. Jacobus Afrikaner fled to the Bondelzwarts Hottentots* in Great Namaqualand, and claimed protection from them, but they surrendered him to Commandant McTaggart, who sent him to Capetown with the other prisoners.

On the 22nd of June Captain George Back with thirty men of the Griqualand West border police fell in with a party of the insurgents trying to make their way from the islands to the Barolong country, and had a sharp engagement with them. Twenty-five of them were killed, and the others, thirty-eight in number, among whom was their leader Gamka Windwai, were made prisoners. Things were now looking decidedly brighter on the government side.

Pofadder and Malgas were still at large, as was also Klaas Lukas, but all of them were closely followed up, so with the remnants of their bands they retired into the Kalahari desert. On their spoor went Captain Alexander Maclean, of the Cape mounted rifles, who was

* The Bondelzwarts' country was from Schuit Drift on the Orange river nearly to the coast, and ran back about 150 miles.

perhaps the best man in the country for this kind of work, and who had with him men who would follow him anywhere. After the water carried with them was exhausted, men and horses alike had no other liquid nourishment than the juice of wild melons, but with that they managed to exist. On the 1st of July Maclean surprised and captured Pofadder's whole gang, consisting of Pofadder himself, twenty-five men, and forty women and children, with four horses and fifty head of horned cattle.

The pursuit of Donker Malgas was a long one. He doubled again and again, and gave a lot of trouble, but Maclean followed him steadily, and at length, on the 20th of July, drove him to a position from which he could not escape. He attempted to resist, but was shot dead with eight of his adherents, when one hundred and fifty others surrendered. Klaas Lukas managed to escape, but with only seven followers left he was powerless to do more harm.

In these operations Dirk Philander, petty chief at Mier, about one hundred and fifty miles or two hundred and forty kilometres farther north, who had two hundred men under him, gave much assistance to the colonial force.

The disturbances were now ended, and as care was taken by the government that none of the prisoners should return to the northern border, there was no danger of the trouble being renewed at any future time. In July 1879 Mr. John H. Scott was appointed special magistrate, and he was shortly able to report that the territory was as quiet and safe to live in as any other part of the colony.

An event of a painful nature in connection with this disturbance remains to be related. That the lives of such degraded beings as those who gave so much trouble on the northern border should not be esteemed as much more sacred than those of jackals by men undergoing toil, privations, and great discomfort in hunting them down is scarcely to be wondered at, but the whole

colony was shocked when it became known that four men on their way to prison had been shot down in cold blood by their escort, and a fifth had been badly wounded, but managed to conceal himself; and in another case that a number of wounded prisoners, among whom were some women and children, had been similarly put to death. It was exceedingly difficult to get correct information upon these occurrences, as those who professed to know the particulars stated that in the first case the men who were shot were attempting to make their escape, and in the second case that the victims were severely wounded and could not recover, so that it was an act of pity to put them out of their misery. There were discrepancies in these statements, however, which caused them to be disbelieved.

After much investigation five men were arrested and put upon their trial for wilful murder before the circuit court sitting at Victoria West, the seat of magistracy that furnished the largest number of burghers that had taken the field. Two of these men were Europeans, and were charged with the murder of prisoners under their care. The evidence was strong against them, but they were acquitted by the jury, the verdict being received with applause by a large body of excited men who had assembled to listen to the proceedings. The trial of the other three—two of whom were Europeans and the other a black—then came on for participation in what had become known as the Koegas atrocities. The evidence in this case also appeared to be clear, but the two Europeans were acquitted and the black was found guilty only of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, for which he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment with hard labour.

It was not only throughout South Africa, but in England and Scotland, that indignation was aroused by what was held to be a gross miscarriage of justice. The attorney-general, Mr. Uppington, was generally blamed

for not removing the second trial from Victoria West when the verdict in the first showed that impartiality could not be expected from a jury there, owing to the prevailing excitement, and the *Cape Argus* in particular contained some very scathing remarks upon his conduct. In consequence, Mr. Upington brought actions for libel against Mr. Saul Solomon, the proprietor of the *Argus*, and Mr. Francis Joseph Dormer, the editor of that paper, fixing the damages in each case at £10,000. Since the celebrated trial of the reverend Dr. Philip for libel, no case had excited such widespread interest throughout South Africa as this. It was not only the character of the attorney-general that was involved in the issue, but the extent of the liberty of the press to criticise the conduct of a public official.

The cases came on together, but with different advocates, on the 16th of December 1879 before the chief justice, Sir Henry de Villiers, and Mr. Justice Stockenstrom, and on the 22nd judgment was delivered. The attorney-general was pronounced not to have been guided by improper motives, but he was not freed from all blame. Mr. Solomon was adjudged to pay one shilling as damages, each party to defray his own costs, and Mr. Dormer was made to pay £5 and the costs on both sides. Newspapers were pronounced to have the right of fair criticism, but their statements must be based on facts and be free of malice.

A wonderful change has taken place since 1879 in the part of South Africa where the disturbances here related occurred. The haunts of the untamable robber clans, where neither shelter nor food other than flesh was to be had, within a quarter of a century became a busy hive of industry, where grain, and fruit, and vegetables were grown in abundance for the supply of the graziers and others to a great distance around. A missionary, the reverend Mr. Schröder, designed a plan of a canal to lead the water of the Orange out to irrigate a large

tract of rich land on the northern side of the stream, and induced a number of the mixed-breeds from the nearest colonial districts to carry out the scheme under his supervision. The government supplied the necessary tools and powder for blasting, and the largest work of its kind in South Africa at that time was successfully completed. The ground below the canal was divided into agricultural plots, and each family of the mixed-breeds had one assigned to it. A marvellous transformation then took place. The rich soil was cleared and planted, and very shortly Upington, as the place was named, was producing all that was needed for the comfortable maintenance of men and domestic animals.

Then the question of what could be done to improve the condition of the poor landless white people in the country became a prominent one, and the synod of the Dutch reformed church resolved, as one means, to establish a labour colony on the banks of the Orange, where the falls or rapids offer facilities for irrigation, and where the flats of deep alluvial soil along the banks are capable of producing almost anything. Large sums of money were needed, but were raised, and the Kakamas labour colony was founded, which has steadily grown in usefulness until now (in 1918) some hundreds of Christian families live there in comfortable homes and in a modest and frugal way enjoy the reward of honest industry. The only drawback is great heat in the summer months, November to April, but this is endured with the reflection that there is no longer a flawless paradise anywhere on earth.

NOTE.—My friend the reverend G. A. Maeder, retired minister of the Dutch reformed church, has kindly supplied me with the following information: "The reverend Christian Schröder was formerly a missionary of the Rhenish society, who after labouring for a dozen or twenty years at Olievenhout Drift joined our church, and went as my successor to Witzi's Hoek. After a few years he returned to his old field of work, and having seen the benefit of a water furrow I had caused to be made for Moperi's people, he planned the construction

of a furrow to lead out the water of the Orange on the northern bank from a higher level to cultivable land below at the place now called Upington. The people he worked with were mixed-breeds, the offspring of degraded white men and Korana women. These people obtained the land along the Orange in the neighbourhood of the islands from the thoughtless Koranas for a mere song, especially from De Neus, where the rapids are (at present utilised by our synod both on the south and north sides of the river for the labour colony), up to Pofadder, a small village on the colonial side of the river. The falls are about half way between De Neus and Pofadder, the latter place being twenty hours on horseback or one hundred and twenty miles from Kenhart. On account of his success Mr. Schröder was invited before the British-Boer war broke out to give the church the benefit of his experience with our labour colony under a committee consisting of the reverend Mr. Marchand, who had studied labour colonies in Germany, as chairman, of which committee I was then a member as minister of Victoria West. He succeeded so well that at a cost of £80,000 we had three hundred families of poor whites labouring on plots of seven morgen each, to whom the synod as landlord let the plots at from £2 10s. to £12 according to their respective values. This had been accomplished on the south side of the Orange river for a length of eight to ten miles, on an extent of land measuring in all about one hundred thousand morgen properly transferred to the Dutch reformed church. During the boer war Mr. Schröder got into trouble, and was confined to Tokai for a year. After his release he returned to Upington, but found a little remnant of his mixed-breed congregation taken possession of, church, parsonage, and all, by the Wesleyans, from whom we regained our property by appealing to the supreme court. During that war the mixed-breeds having joined the British forces dwindled away, and Mr. Schröder was in such distress on account of their disappearance that he worked with half a heart as our superintendent, but for all that he brought the furrow on the southern side farther on to the mouth of the Hartebeest river, a distance of twelve to fifteen miles, before he resigned. Since that time the work has been carried on by the reverend Messrs. De Bruyn, Hofmeyr, and Shaw, and Mr. Conradie. The result has been that our labour colony now possesses one hundred and ten thousand morgen of ground, and has another furrow on the north side of a length of not less than twenty-five miles, and all the islands between De Neus and near to Upington are irrigated also. The whole colony north and south of the river has cost up to the present between £140,000 and £150,000, and now consists of over three thousand souls. We have a good market among the neighbouring sheepfarmers, to whom we sell a muid of corn at £2 to £2 10s., and quickly dispose of all our vegetables and fruit. The railway has now brought us into close contact with what

was German South-West Africa, which supplies us with another market. We have no anxiety about the future, except that the river may dry up again for a month or two at Kakamas." Heavy floods were not taken into account by the writer of this paragraph, but on one occasion recently much damage was caused by them.

Of the Baputi chief Morosi an account has been given in preceding volumes, in which his career was briefly traced from his accession to the leadership of his clan until he became a British subject.* He was of mixed Bantu and Bushman blood, as were many of his followers, and the colour of his skin approached more nearly to yellow than to blackish brown. When the Bantu invaded the territory they destroyed all the Bushman males and all the females except young girls that they could hunt down, classifying them as wild animals, not as human beings. Yet they preserved the girls as concubines, and a mixed progeny was the result, just as the Masarwa had arisen in earlier times on the border of the Kalahari desert. In general these mixed-breeds were not regarded by the pure blacks as their equals socially, but occasionally instances occurred, as in the case of the family of Mokuane, in which they filled leading positions. The remarkable obstinacy that Morosi displayed, and his refusal to agree to any terms of surrender that did not include his absolute freedom were characteristics of his Bushman rather than of his Bantu blood. Nevertheless as he spoke a Bantu dialect, and was associated with Bantu mainly, he was always classified with them.

Morosi was in one way the most important of all Moshesh's vassals, because it was only through the

* Any one who may wish to know more about the adventures of Morosi and his father Mokuane during the dispersion in the time of Tshaka than I have related will find many little details in the reverend D. Fred. Ellenberger's volume *History of the Basuto Ancient and Modern*, published in London in 1912, a volume that displays the most intimate acquaintance with the people among whom the venerable missionary lived and laboured.

Baputi having occupied the territory south of Thaba Bosigo, or perhaps roamed over it would be a more correct expression, that the Basuto could claim any ground there as an inheritance of their tribe. The Baputi were not of Bakwena origin, their *siboko* being the little bluebuck, not the crocodile, and they differed in language as well as in some other respects from the great bulk of the Basuto. They admitted allegiance to the family of Moshesh, but it was more nominal than real, for their captains very rarely took part in the counsels of the tribe, and moved about as they chose, without any reference to their overlord. They certainly had not the inclination, it may be even the capacity, for improvement that the Kwena and Hlubi sections were then displaying, and were content to remain like their ancestors pure barbarians. Among them were many desperadoes from other parts of South Africa, who had been encouraged by the lawless chief to place themselves under his protection.

Morosi drew an allowance of £50 per annum in recognition of his being a chief, but for several years after the annexation of Basutoland to the British dominions he was almost free of guidance or control, as there was no government official stationed near him. In May 1877, however, Quthing, where he then resided, was cut off from Kornet Spruit and created a separate district, and Mr. Hamilton Hope was stationed there as magistrate. Naturally the chief, who was of a turbulent and arrogant disposition, chafed under the restraint to which he was thereafter subject, and a trial of strength soon took place between him and Mr. Hope. Morosi asserted that he was supreme in his own country and the magistrate was subordinate, but in Mr. Hope he had a firm man to deal with, who made allowances for his position and the barbarism in which he had been trained, but who required him to observe something like order. On more than one occasion the chief set the magistrate at de-

fiance, but a scene of this kind always ended by his temporary submission and making an apology.

The last trial of strength between Morosi and Mr. Hope took place in March 1878. One Makela refused to pay his hut-tax, and set the magistrate's messenger at defiance, upon which Mr. Hope sent some policemen to summon him to appear before the court. Morosi's son of highest rank, Doda by name, on learning this, intercepted the policemen and forced them to return, and when Mr. Hope called upon the chief to surrender his son for trial he refused to do so. The matter was then referred to the chief magistrate, who applied to Letsie for assistance, and he sent his son Lerothodi to compel Morosi to submit. A fine of £100 or twenty-five head of cattle was imposed upon Doda and one of £25 or five head of cattle upon Makela, both of them to be imprisoned until the fines were paid. Morosi then apologised and said he would abide by the judgment, so that matter ended.

Mr. James Henry Bowker, who acted as governor's agent in Basutoland from March to June 1878, thought that an older and more experienced man than Mr. Hope might succeed better with the Baputi, as all Bantu pay deference to age, and by his advice in April 1878 Mr. John Austen was sent to Quthing, and Mr. Hope was transferred as magistrate to Qumbu, the district below the mountain range occupied by the Pondonsi clan under Umhlonhlo.

In November 1878 Doda was arrested and tried by Mr. Austen for participation in horse stealing some months before, when he and a band of his followers were living in a cave, and were keeping away from observation as much as possible. He was proved guilty of the crime, and was sentenced to imprisonment for four years. On the 28th of January 1879 his father caused the frail building used as a prison at Quthing, in which he was confined until he could be sent to a place of

greater security, to be broken open, and set him at liberty. In doing this Morosi knew that he was committing an act of hostility to the government, but he believed that he would have the sympathy of the whole Basuto tribe, and that there was a stronger power than that of England in South Africa, whose favour he would gain by rebelling.

For tidings had reached Quthing that six days before, on the 22nd of January 1879, Ketschwayo's forces had utterly annihilated a combined English and colonial army at Isandhlwana, and it seemed to Morosi to be good policy to be on the Zulu side. The whole of the Basuto tribe was at the time in a state of excitement, owing to an announcement made by Colonel Griffith, the governor's agent, at the pitso held in the preceding November, that the peace preservation *alias* the disarmament act had been passed by the Cape parliament, though he did not say it would be applied to them. He had been instructed by the colonial secretary to mention it as a kind of feeler, and he had done so in the most cautious way. But every Mosuto without exception became alarmed, for a gun was to him an emblem of manhood, and among them all no one felt more anxiety on the subject than Morosi. He must have realised that he and his clan would be the first to be called upon to surrender their guns, and rather than do that he would go into rebellion.

There was a station of the frontier armed and mounted police at Palmietfontein in the district of Herschel, close to the border of the Quthing district of Basutoland. The position was an excellent one in a military point of view, and roads led from it in almost every direction. As soon as intelligence of the forcible release of Doda from prison reached Capetown, six hundred yeomanry and some police were sent to Palmietfontein as a reinforcement, but with instructions not to cross the Telle, the boundary stream, for the present.

For some weeks nothing further was done on either side, and as little notice as possible was taken of Mr. Austen by the Baputi. Then the second act of defiance of the European authorities took place. A few men of the clan were desirous of remaining loyal to the colonial government, and these endeavoured to get to Palmietfontein and solicit protection, but on Morosi's learning of the movement, he sent a stronger party to intercept them. They were followed up, arrested, brought back, and punished by having all their property confiscated, in the expressive Bantu way of putting it, by being eaten up. Everything looked so threatening that on the 21st of February Mr. Austen sent his family to Palmietfontein, and two days later he and his clerk Mr. Maitin thought it prudent to retire to the same place. The residency was then plundered by the Baputi, who also destroyed the records in the office, and wrecked everything connected with it. The traders in the district were next ordered by Morosi to leave at once, and the contents of two shops belonging to a man named Thomas were plundered.

The missionary* with the clan, the reverend Mr. Ellenberger, of the Paris evangelical society, was using his utmost endeavours to bring about the submission of the people to the government, but was unsuccessful, though he managed to prevent open resistance to the law from spreading beyond the district of Quthing.

The desire of the colonial government was, if possible, to suppress the insurrection by a force of loyal Basuto, and with this object Colonel Griffith called upon Letsie to supply two thousand men. No promise was made that if they acted as desired, they would not be disarmed, but there is no doubt that they believed this to be an opportunity of enabling them to retain their guns. Among themselves they spoke of the matter in this

* Of the station Masitlasi, founded in 1867, after Morosi moved south of the Orange river from Bethesda.

way: only a foolish person would take arms from those who were fighting for him or her, let us then fight for the queen, she is wise, and will not perform a foolish act. So two thousand Basuto took the field under Lerothodi, great son of Letsie, with the intention rather of overawing the Baputi by their presence than of crushing them in battle. Those living in Griqualand East, however, when requested to furnish a contingent, declined to do so.

On the 6th of March the first encounter took place. By way of bravado Morosi sent about a hundred and fifty men across the Telle, when some yeomen from Jamestown, who were on picket duty, opened fire on them. A skirmish followed, and on the Queenstown yeomanry and a troop of the Cape mounted rifles hastening to the support of their comrades, the Baputi were driven back with a loss of some twenty men, against two wounded on the European side.

Just at this time Colonel Griffith arrived with Lerothodi's Basuto, who formed a camp about three kilometres distant from the police station. He wanted to follow up the Baputi at once, but Colonel Southey, who was in command of the yeomanry, objected to cross the Telle until an order to that effect should reach him from Capetown. War in real earnest had now, however, commenced, and very shortly the principle was in full force of attacking the enemy wherever it could be done with a prospect of success.

The Baputi retired to a distance of ten or twelve kilometres from the Telle, where they were attacked by strong patrols, but nothing decisive could be effected against them. The first of these patrols consisted of the Basuto under Lerothodi, who on the 21st of March fell in with a party of Baputi posted in a very strong position. As they would not yield, Lerothodi was obliged to attack them, and he succeeded in driving them back with a loss of thirty killed, among whom were three

sons of Morosi. On his side, a near relative of his own and nine other men lost their lives, which caused him thereafter to feel no reluctance to attack them. He was able to capture about fifteen hundred head of horned cattle and some sheep and goats, which he retained as legitimate spoil of war.

Two days later Colonel Griffith with the yeomanry attacked a party of the enemy who were posted in a position capable of being defended against vastly superior numbers, and succeeded in expelling them from it. On this occasion also about thirty of the rebels were killed. On the colonial side Sergeant Muldoon of the second regiment of yeomanry was shot dead, and three others were wounded. The only spoil was eighty-five horses captured.

On the 29th of March the Grahamstown yeomanry, under Captain Wood, went out on patrol, and returned with seven hundred head of horned cattle, about three thousand sheep and goats, and one hundred and fifty horses.

Another yeomanry patrol went out on the 1st of April, and returned on the 3rd with two thousand two hundred head of horned cattle, three hundred and forty horses, and three thousand sheep and goats. And still another a few days later captured fifty horses, seven hundred head of horned cattle, and a thousand sheep. Morosi was thus losing the accumulated wealth of his clan, in addition to many of his retainers who lost their lives when endeavouring to protect their herds, but he was resolved not to submit.

He was residing on a natural fortress of great strength, and had laid up a large supply of grain there, so he summoned his best warriors to defend the stronghold, and believed that he could hold out until his enemies were exhausted. The open country was now abandoned by the rebels, and the history of the war becomes a narrative of the efforts made to get possession of the mountain.

It was a crag about two hundred and thirty metres in height, something like Thaba Bosigo, but not quite so large, situated in a curve of the Orange river. In places it rose almost perpendicularly from the base to the summit, in others it formed a series of steps, each too high for a man to climb over, and only at one spot, on the south-eastern side, was there a passage in a gorge to the top. Across this passage rough stone walls were built, and on the heights above it quantities of boulders large and small were collected, that could be hurled down upon an enemy attempting to advance up it. The top was a rough plateau, about five hundred and fifty by three hundred metres in extent, and on it was a natural reservoir affording an ample supply of water. With a garrison armed with guns, some of them excellent rifles, and with no want of ammunition, Morosi may well have thought that his mountain stronghold was impregnable.

On the 8th of April the first attempt to take it by storm was made by Colonel Griffith with the Cape mounted riflemen and the detachments in the field of the second and third regiments of yeomanry. The passage in the gorge was first bombarded with seven-pounder guns until it was thought all obstructions must be broken down, and then the troops charged up it. But it was found that the cross walls were almost undamaged, and from behind the first of them a hot fire was opened, which, though unsteady, could not be silenced. Two officers, Captain James Surmon, of the Cape mounted rifles, and Lieutenant Reid, of the yeomanry, and three men were killed, and fourteen riflemen and six yeomen were wounded. The troops then retired, so the attack was a complete failure.

It was then resolved to invest the mountain, in the hope that the Baputi on it might be starved out, and with this object the colonial forces were stationed in positions commanding the only way up it. Hardly any

service could be more dispiriting than this to such troops as the yeomanry, who soon became weary of doing nothing but watching day after day, like a cat lying in wait for a mouse to come out of a hole, as they remarked, and after a few weeks the government found it necessary to call out three hundred burghers in the frontier districts to relieve them. Thereafter there was frequent changing of the forces in the field, so that four hundred and fifty Europeans could be kept constantly on sentry without discontent.

On the 30th of April Doda sent to Colonel Griffith to ask for a guarantee that his life would be spared if he gave himself up, to which a reply was made that he must surrender unconditionally. This he declined to do, though a good many of the Baputi who had lost all their cattle were then coming in and professing submission. They were required to give up their guns, ammunition, and even their assagais, when they were provided with passes to enable them to settle down quietly.

At this time Colonel Brabant succeeded Colonel Griffith in the general command of the forces. The investment of the mountain went on, and was regarded as the chief operation, but some other efforts were made to harass the enemy.

On the 23rd of May a strong patrolling party went out, and succeeded in surprising the temporary kraals of two petty captains, who were made prisoners with about three hundred men. They had no cattle that could be discovered, so there was nothing that could be taken possession of except their arms, which they were required to surrender.

Another patrol, consisting of forty-eight men of the third yeomanry regiment, under Captain Chiappini, that went out to scour the country, was encamped for the night at the junction of the Quthing and Orange rivers. At half-past two o'clock in the morning of the 29th of May it was attacked by a party of the enemy that had been watching

its movements, and although after an hour's fighting the assailants retired, they left behind them six dead yeomen and fifteen wounded, or nearly half the whole number killed or disabled.

Many of the Baputi were living in caves, from which they could make sallies and attack small parties of the colonial forces should their scouts inform them that they could do so with a likelihood of success. They had only been able to do any damage on the occasion just mentioned, and Colonel Brabant was determined that they should not do so again. Strong patrols were sent out, the caves were visited, and their occupants were called upon to surrender, when, if they would not do so, their retreats were destroyed with dynamite. It was cruel work, and many of the wretched creatures lost their lives, but there was no other way of putting an end to the trouble they were capable of causing.

A twelve-pounder cannon having been borrowed from the Free State government, the pathway up Morosi's mountain was heavily bombarded with it and the seven-pounders, and on the 5th of June another attempt was made to take the stronghold by storm. The lowest cross wall had been battered down, and the storming party got beyond it, but was then driven back by the fire from above. As on the former occasion, the attack was an utter failure. The casualties were one man of the second yeomanry regiment killed and two wounded, one of the Fort Beaufort burghers killed and one wounded, and three Cape mounted riflemen, three of the first, and two of the third yeomanry regiment wounded.

The blockade was then resumed, and continued without intermission. On the 10th of July a white flag was hoisted at the top of the pathway, and on Colonel Brabant sending to ascertain what it implied, Morosi stated that he wanted peace. He proposed as terms of his surrender that he should be guaranteed against punishment for what he had done, and should be permitted to reside

wherever he chose. He was informed that nothing but the unconditional surrender of himself and all the men on the mountain with him would be agreed to. He declined to do anything of the kind, but kept the white flag flying for many days afterwards, as if to show that the fault of continuing the war was not his.

The food on the mountain was by this time so reduced in quantity that it became necessary to practise great economy in its use, and everything that could be eaten was turned to account. There were many hides of oxen put by to make women's clothing of, and these were now by some peculiar process converted into fragments that could be ground like maize between two stones and then be boiled to form a nourishing soup. Every kind of plant was also used as food. There were no children on the mountain, and only six or seven women, while the garrison was reduced to between two and three hundred men, the smallest number that could defend it successfully. So the food, scanty as it was, enabled the indomitable old chief to hold out for months still to come.

Week after week passed away, and no advance was made in the effort to starve the rebel chief to submission. The yeomanry and the burghers who were called out could no longer be kept in the field, as they were beginning to desert, preferring to run the risk of punishment for leaving without permission to the monotonous and dreary duty of keeping guard over a ravine in the wild land of the Baputi. There was not an animal left to make a prize of, nothing whatever to be gained by remaining, and much discomfort to be endured. There was danger of all of them abandoning the post, so the government decided to recall them, and to carry on the war with the Cape mounted riflemen assisted by any volunteers who might offer their services and by Bantu, chiefly Fingo, levies. Colonel Bayly, of the Cape mounted rifles, was appointed to the chief command, and on the 27th of October took over the duty from Colonel Brabant

Mr. Sprigg, the prime minister, at the same time visited the scene of operations, and arranged for a meeting with Morosi, whom he hoped he would be able to persuade to submit on reasonable terms. On the 25th of October, at a spot about half way up the gorge, the meeting took place. Mr. Sprigg was accompanied by five attendants, and Morosi by fifteen, all unarmed. For three hours a conversation went on between them, but the chief would not abate one jot of his pretensions. He was told of the complete suppression of the Zulu power and of the captivity of Ketshtwayo, but he betrayed no sign of being disturbed by the information. That the Basuto tribe, of which he was a vassal, had assisted the colonial forces against him he of course knew, and also that there were still some Basuto in the colonial camp, though he did not seem to attach much importance to that. He was told that he could not hold out much longer, but he evidently thought that was a matter of mere opinion. It was impossible for Mr. Sprigg to accede to his conditions, and as he would listen to no other, the interview ended, leaving matters as they were.

Every part of the outer face of the mountain was now well known, and it was believed that there were several places where it could be scaled with ladders. It would of course be hazardous work getting up it in this way, step by step, with an enemy on the top, but Colonel Bayly determined to try it. Ladders twenty-one feet in length were procured from Aliwal North, and at three o'clock in the morning of the 20th of November the assault was commenced. For three days and three nights previously the mountain had been continuously shelled by the cannon, so that the garrison on it was supposed to be pretty well worn out through want of sleep. As afterwards ascertained, it consisted of about two hundred men. The storming parties were five in number, comprising Captain Bourne, of the Cape mounted rifles, with one hundred and seventy-five men, Captain Montague, of

the same regiment, with one hundred and seventy-five men, Lieutenant Muhlenbeek with the Wodehouse border guard and forty Fingos, Captain Allan Maclean with two hundred Fingos, and Captain David Hook with two hundred Fingos and Tembus.

Ledge after ledge was gained, and in less than an hour the top was reached. Lieutenant Springer, of the Cape mounted rifles, was the first man on the crown of the mountain, for which he was rewarded by being made a captain. The Baputi tried to resist, but were driven back, and no fewer than seventy were killed. By a quarter past four all was over, and the mountain was in possession of the colonial forces. The casualties were two riflemen badly wounded, and two Fingos killed and two wounded. Morosi had been wounded in the neck by a bullet during the fight, but had strength enough left to creep away to a rock shelter, where his dead body was found soon afterwards. Every man of note in the Baputi clan had perished, and the war was over.

On the 2nd of February 1880 an amnesty to the survivors was proclaimed, from which only Doda and a few others were excepted. But after the storming of the mountain Doda was never seen alive or dead, so he probably avoided capture by hurling himself over a precipice.

CHAPTER XVII.

RESISTANCE OF THE BASUTO TO DISARMAMENT.

SINCE the annexation of Basutoland to the Cape Colony its people had become prosperous, though some of the chiefs, notably Masupha, Ramanela, and Joel, right hand son of Molapo, chafed under the restraint imposed upon their actions by the magistrates. It was as natural that they should do so as it was for a powerful baron in feudal times in Europe to resent any interference by his superior with his jurisdiction over his dependents. But in both instances it was for the benefit of the people that the power of the heads of clans should be reduced, and in Basutoland for seven or eight years after the annexation this was being done gradually and with as much tenderness towards the chiefs as was possible. It was recognised that the position was a delicate one, and that every precaution should be used to avoid irritation of any kind or exposing the government to the risk of resistance. The attitude of Mr. Molteno is illustrated in his letters of the 13th and 21st of January 1874 to the governor's agent, in the first of which he authorised the release from prison of a chief named Sekaki, who had caused the murder of a woman, upon payment of a fine of £75, which was to be divided between the relatives of the woman and the principal chief Letsie, in order to calm the unrest caused by the trial of a chief. And in the second he regretted to hear of the disloyalty of some of the chiefs, and observed that it would not be prudent to arm the Basuto police with breechloaders or to have snider rifles stored at the magistracies, as they might fall into disaffected hands.

From the condition of extreme poverty in which the tribe was ten years earlier it had risen to be wealthy, as in 1879 it owned many thousands of horses, great herds of horned cattle, flocks of sheep and goats, more than three thousand ploughs, and many waggons. Over twenty thousand of the adult males were armed with guns, a large proportion of which were of a superior kind, they possessed good saddles, and wore European clothing. In 1879 they sold wool to the value of £75,000, and grain to the value of £400,000. They were earning about £100,000 a year as labourers, principally at the diamond mines, and as transport riders. The public revenue, chiefly derived from hut-tax, had risen from £16,000 in 1874 to £18,000 in 1879. In 1880 there were three hundred and forty-five educational institutions and mission schools in the country, with twenty-five thousand one hundred and forty-seven pupils on the books. No other Bantu tribe in South Africa could show such progress as this.

Every European in the country will admit that the danger of disturbance would be greatly diminished if no uncivilised men were in possession of firearms. A barbarian with a gun in his hands which he does not know how to use properly, as he never thinks of acquiring skill in firing by practice, may really be less dangerous as an enemy than one armed with assagais, in the use of which he is proficient, but the possession of a gun makes him believe that he is the white man's equal in strength, and tends greatly to make him unruly. At the diamond fields guns and ammunition were sold as openly as any other merchandise, and the tribes far and near were enabled to arm themselves. To a Mosuto the ownership of a gun was a proof of manhood, and it became a point of honour with him to possess one.

Under these circumstances disarmament, however desirable from a European point of view, was not an easy matter to carry out, nor was it altogether honest. The

act provided that compensation at the appraised value of the gun surrendered should be paid, but in many—perhaps nearly all—cases the owner had paid much more than the ordinary market value for it. He had bought it openly, under the eye and with the sanction of an English magistrate, and naturally he considered himself defrauded when he was required to surrender it for less than he had paid for it to a shopkeeper at the diamond fields.

The act was first put into force with people who were so entirely dependent upon the government that they were obliged to submit. Thus in the division of King-Williamstown two thousand six hundred and twenty-eight guns were surrendered, it was officially announced voluntarily, but the willingness displayed may be exemplified by an instance that came under the eye of the author of this volume. A middle-aged Fingo, having parted with his gun, excitedly threw his jacket on the ground, and almost tearing open his shirt, showed some scars on his breast. "Look at these scars," he said to the magistrate, "they are all in front, and all were received fighting for the government; there will never be another, for I am no longer a man."

On the 10th of October 1878 Colonel Griffith, who had been on military service in the Galeka war and Rarabe rebellion, arrived again at Maseru and resumed the duty of governor's agent in Basutoland, which had been performed during the greater part of his absence by Mr. Emile S. Rolland. On the 24th of the same month the annual pitso or general assembly of the people was held, when an announcement was made that a disarmament act had been passed by the Cape parliament, but it was not stated that it would be applied to the Basuto. From that time, however, general uneasiness on the subject was felt, though it was hoped that by assisting the government to suppress the rebellion of Morosi they would be exempted.

On the 16th of October 1879 another pitso was held, when the prime minister, Mr. Sprigg, was present, and the matter was fully gone into. He announced first that the hut-tax would be increased from ten shillings to twenty shillings a year, in order to obtain money for the construction of roads and public buildings in the country. No people like to hear of increased taxation, but in this case there was not so much demur as might have been anticipated. The payment of hut-tax, it must be remembered, confirmed a man's right not only to a particular plot of ground on which to build a residence with a small yard, but to a garden and a right to pasture cattle on the waste lands. Lerothodi, however, pointed out that it would fall heavy on a man like himself with ten wives, who would consequently have to pay £10, as each wife required a separate hut.

But when it was stated that the guns would have to be surrendered, general opposition was shown, though neither Mr. Sprigg nor Colonel Griffith thought it would be carried as far as open resistance. There were, however, many men who were well acquainted with the Basuto, traders as well as missionaries, who warned the government that an attempt to disarm the tribe would almost certainly lead to a general revolt.

There was still another matter that was causing unrest. After the suppression of Morosi's rebellion, the government resolved to reserve sufficient ground in the district of Quthing for the use of those Basuto who had taken no part in it, and to dispose of the remainder to Europeans. It was the only way of recovering a portion of the expense to which the colony had been put, and besides it was considered necessary to show to other tribes that rebellion would not go unpunished. But the Basuto objected to the alienation of a single square metre of the ground that, according to their statements, Moshesh had transferred to the British government, and asserted in the strongest language that the country

was already too small for them to expand in. Thus there were three causes of irritation operating at the same time, but disarmament quite overshadowed the other two.

With regard to the district of Quthing, the plan of the government was never carried out. Letsie sent a petition to the Cape parliament against it, which was presented to the house of assembly by Mr. Joseph M. Orpen on the 14th of May 1880, but did not meet with a favourable reception. The authorities in England, however, objected to the plan of the local government, and on the 30th of December 1880 the secretary of state issued instructions to the governor not to proclaim any part of the country confiscated. The events that followed prevented further action in the matter, and so Quthing remained intact as part of Basutoland.

On the 22nd of December 1879 Colonel Griffith, acting by instructions from the ministry in Capetown, issued a notice that disarmament would be carried out, and inviting the people to surrender their guns voluntarily, when compensation in money would be paid to them within a month. Only a few individuals did so, however, so few as to show that opposition to the measure was practically universal.

On the 21st of January 1880 two petitions against disarmament were signed by Letsie, acting for all the chiefs and people, one of which was directed to her Majesty the queen and the other to the high commissioner. To the first a reply was sent that her Majesty did not desire to interfere in the matter, and to the second an answer was given explaining the principles of responsible government.

The hope of voluntary delivery of the weapons having been disappointed, on the 6th of April 1880 a proclamation was issued by the governor requiring the surrender of all guns, other implements of war, and ammunition in Basutoland before the 21st of May, under penalty of imprisonment with or without hard labour for any period not exceeding seven years or a fine not exceeding £500. Com-

pensation would be made for weapons delivered within the time fixed, but not for those kept back after that date.

Letsie and his advisers then resolved to send a deputation to Capetown with petitions addressed to the house of assembly against disarmament and the confiscation of land in Quthing, and on the 29th of April six of the cleverest men in the tribe, accompanied by the reverend Mr. Cochet, of the French evangelical mission, left Matsieng for that purpose. The deputation was well treated in Capetown, and listened to the debates in the house of assembly on the subjects of their mission, though some of the members were disappointed at not being permitted to plead their case by word of mouth.

The question of disarmament was brought before the assembly on the 20th of May by Mr. Fuller, who moved: "that this house is of opinion that the recent action of the government in proclaiming a law requiring the Basutos to surrender their arms, weapons, and ammunition, and promising compensation for the same within one month, on the eve of the meeting of parliament, and without any emergency having arisen necessitating the same, is arbitrary and unconstitutional, involving as it does the expenditure of a large amount of public money unauthorised by parliament, and committing the colony to a policy which, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, required the very greatest consideration at the hands of the legislature." When, after prolonged discussion, on the 2nd of June this motion was put to the vote, it had only twenty-eight supporters against thirty-seven, though some of the very ablest men in the house favoured it.

The ministry extended the date of surrender of the arms to the 21st of June, and later to the 12th of July, to enable the deputation to return to Basutoland and deliver their report upon what they had heard in ample time before the day fixed. On the 3rd of July there was a big meeting at Thaba Bosigo, when they gave an account of their mission and recommended compliance with the law.

Letsie announced that he would give up his guns, but the people believed that he was not in earnest and that he intended to play the part of the bush, that is profess to be obedient to the government while really opposing it. His sons Lerothodi, Bereng, and Mama declared they would resist, as did his half-brother Masupha, his sister's husband Ramanela—the most turbulent man in the country,—and many other chiefs. On the 28th of June 1880 Molapo died, and his sons Jonathan and Joel were so opposed to each other that if one decided to obey the other would certainly resist. Jonathan was the higher in rank, as he was the second son of the great wife of Molapo, and his elder brother was insane, while Joel was the heir of the right hand house. Jonathan announced that he would give up his guns, and Joel took sides with Masupha.

Before the day fixed, those Basuto who were in the service of the government, most of the converts at the mission stations, Jonathan's clan, and a few others gave up their arms, but a little later they were attacked, maltreated—some even murdered,—plundered of everything they possessed, and driven from their homes by Masupha and Joel. Most of them fled to Maseru and claimed protection from Colonel Griffith, the governor's agent, who was fortunately able to supply them with food. The men were enrolled for defence, Maseru was barricaded, and the government was applied to for immediate assistance. In all haste men were sent forward, the first despatched, two hundred of the Cape mounted rifles, leaving King-Williamstown on the 23rd of July.

It was hoped, however, that the presence of these troops on the border would awe the disaffected, and with the consent of the Free State government, they halted and formed temporary camps beyond the boundary while Mr. Sprigg was making a final effort to induce the insurgents to submit. Taking with him Mr. Joseph M. Orpen, the old and tried friend of the tribe, and Commandant

Frederick Schermbrucker, he hastened to Basutoland, but found it impossible to restore order. He had gone too far now to retreat, so on the 6th of September a detachment of the Cape mounted rifles under Colonel Bayly crossed the border to Maseru.

Seven days later the first encounter took place. On the 13th of September Colonel Carrington, with two hundred men of the Cape mounted rifles who had just arrived, left Wepener to occupy Mafeteng, where some of those who had given up their guns had taken refuge, and when about two miles or a little over three kilometres from his destination, was attacked by six or seven hundred Basuto under Lerothodi, son of Letsie. A skirmish followed, in which one rifleman was wounded and two Basuto were killed, and which ended in the flight of the insurgents and their pursuit for a couple of hours. While this was taking place, some of Molitsane's Bataung attacked the kraal of a captain who had given up his guns, but Colonel Carrington sent some mounted riflemen against them, who drove them off and killed five of them.

On the 17th of September a patrol of seventy men of the Cape mounted rifles was sent out from Mafeteng to make a reconnaissance towards Lerothodi's kraal, and was surrounded on the march by some twelve hundred Basuto, when it was obliged to cut its way through the circle, which it did with the loss of an officer—Lieutenant Clarke—and two men killed.

Four days later Mafeteng was attacked by a Basuto force estimated to be fully five thousand strong, that during the whole day endeavoured to get possession of the place, but at nightfall was obliged to retire discomfited.

It was now evident that a very large force would be needed to suppress the insurrection, and yeomanry, volunteers, burghers, and Bantu and Hottentot auxiliaries were sent forward as rapidly as possible. Brigadier-General

Charles M. Clarke was appointed commandant-general, and Commandant F. Schermbrucker was directed to equip the "loyal Basuto," that is those who had surrendered their guns, and add them to the forces in the field. The difficulty of obtaining and forwarding food and other necessaries was very great, the nearest railway station being at Queenstown. At the same time also there was a widespread rebellion in Griqualand East and Tembuland, an account of which has already been given, so that the resources of the colony in men and money were strained to the utmost.

Mr. William Henry Surmon, the magistrate at Mohali's Hoek, who with only ten or twelve white men and a few loyals had defended his post gallantly against repeated attacks, being surrounded by the enemy and in urgent need of assistance, on the 4th of October Colonel Southey was sent to his aid with a strong party of yeomen and volunteers, supported by a few Cape mounted riflemen, that succeeded in reaching and relieving him with a loss of two men killed and ten wounded.

On the 10th of October Maseru was attacked by about five thousand Basuto under Masupha. It was defended by Colonel Bayly with two hundred and thirty-nine Europeans and two hundred and fifty-six Bantu under Commandant Schermbrucker, among these being Nehemiah, Georgo, Tsekelo, Sofonia, and some other sons of Moshesh of minor rank. Masupha's force was formed in three columns, which attacked in a desultory way from early morning until four o'clock in the afternoon, when real fighting commenced. The military camp, which was named Fort Gordon, the residency, the public offices, Irvine's store, and Trower's store were the points specially aimed at. The public offices with Trower's store and several detached buildings were taken and burned, but the other places managed to hold out, and before midnight the insurgents retired, having suffered, it was believed, considerable loss. Three Europeans were wounded, and two

men of Commandant Schermbrucker's force were killed and two others wounded.

A heavy loss was sustained on the 19th of October, when a column of over sixteen hundred men under Commandant-General Clarke was marching from a camp near Wepener in the Orange Free State to the relief of Mafeteng. At Kalabani, on the way, it was attacked by surprise by a strong band of Basuto horsemen armed with assagais, commanded by Bereng, son of Letsie, when thirty-seven men were killed and nine others were wounded. Of the killed thirty-one were yeomen. After making a sudden dash and causing this loss, the enemy retired as hastily, when the march was resumed, and Mafeteng was relieved.

On the 22nd of October Colonel Carrington occupied Lerothodi's kraal, but in doing so had eight troopers of the Cape mounted rifles killed and one officer and ten volunteers wounded.

On the 28th of the same month Maseru was attacked again, but was not taken, though forty-five horses and forty-two slaughter oxen were captured. Two Europeans and a loyal Mosuto were killed on this occasion, and three Europeans and three loyal Basuto were wounded.

Three days later a disaster took place in another part of the country. A strong patrol was sent from Mafeteng to occupy Molitsane's kraal at Makwaisberg, and succeeded in reaching it, but found the enemy in such force that it was obliged to retreat with eight men killed and eleven wounded.

In November the principal events were an attack by a colonial force on the Kolo mountain on the 13th, which was unsuccessful, and in which an officer and five men were killed, and an attack on Jonathan's camp by Joel on the 15th, when he was beaten off.

President Brand had given permission to the colonial forces to march through the Free State and even to form a temporary camp on a farm near Wepener, which Masupha

regarded as inconsistent with the neutrality that he hoped the republic would observe. On the 23rd of November he wrote to the president, asking permission to purchase ammunition in the Free State, to which Mr. Brand replied on the 9th of December, through the governor's agent, refusing to comply with his request, and stating that he could not be regarded as a lawful belligerent, but only as a rebel in arms against his government.

The colonial authorities were now engaging large numbers of Fingos and Hottentots to assist against the insurgent Basuto, who were proving themselves very much stronger and more daring than any one before the rebellion had believed them to be. At the end of the year there were in the field in Basutoland and below the mountains, between Cape mounted riflemen, yeomanry, burghers, and volunteers, seven thousand four hundred and eighty-five cavalry and one thousand three hundred and fifty infantry, with as auxiliaries nine thousand three hundred and twenty Bantu and three hundred and forty-eight Hottentots. Yet it was found impossible to secure a firm footing in any part of Basutoland beyond a short distance from the seats of magistracy and the military camps. Attacks by the insurgents on fortified posts were always failures, but so were attacks by the colonial forces on Basuto strongholds, which were thickly scattered over the land.

The burghers and the yeomanry were already weary of the war and anxious to get back to their homes. They could see no prospect of the subjugation of the insurgents, many of them said no advantage to the colony commensurate with the loss of men and money if they were subdued. The expense of the war was startling. By the end of the year it was known to have cost the colony over a million and a half pounds sterling, and there was no way of reducing the expense in future. The loyals had lost property to the value of £181,000, and traders property valued at £81,000, for which the government

was expected to make compensation. Burghers and yeomen began to desert. On the 12th of January 1881 there was in the *Gazette* a list of seventy-six names of men who had left without permission, and the government was reduced to such straits to keep up the force that even convicts of a special class were released from prison if they would take service.

At five o'clock in the afternoon of the 6th of January 1881 the camp at Thlotsi Heights, the seat of magistracy of the district of Leribe, where the Kimberley horse was stationed to protect Jonathan's people, was suddenly surrounded by a great army of Basuto, who attacked it on all sides. It was, however, so well prepared for defence that the enemy could not force an entrance into it, though they attempted again and again to do so, and did not withdraw until after midnight. Two of Jonathan's men were killed and four were wounded on this occasion.

On the 14th of January an engagement took place between some five thousand Basuto and a colonial force of nine hundred and sixty men, mostly burghers, under Colonel Carrington. For five hours the Basuto horsemen persevered in charging on different points, notwithstanding the very heavy losses which they sustained. All of Colonel Carrington's artillery was disabled. At length the enemy retired, after twenty-two burghers and three blacks had been killed and twenty-five burghers had been more or less severely wounded.

In the engagements that have been mentioned and many others of less importance during the four months in which hostilities had been carried on, the loss of life by the Basuto had amounted to several hundreds, and a much larger number had been wounded and disabled. The property destroyed had been considerable, and many thousands of women and children had abandoned their homes and taken refuge in the Maluti mountains, where they were suffering great discomfort. Under these circum-

stances most of the insurgent leaders were desirous of peace, and to obtain it were willing to submit to moderate terms, though not to the loss of their weapons.

On the 10th of January 1881 Lerothodi and Joel, for themselves and the chiefs under them, caused a petition to the queen to be drawn up, praying for peace, but asking to be allowed to retain their arms and their country. The petition was sent to Mr. J. W. Sauer, member of the Cape house of assembly for Aliwal North, with a request that he would forward it to Sir George Strahan, who was then the head of the Cape government. Before it reached Capetown Sir Hercules Robinson had assumed duty as governor and high commissioner (22nd of January 1881), and he at once sent a summary of it by telegraph to the secretary of state for the colonies, who replied on the 31st of January, instructing the governor to "press earnestly upon the ministry to enable him to take advantage of the opportunity to arrange terms by which the war might be brought to a close."

Sir Hercules Robinson then offered to mediate and obtain lenient terms for the chiefs, if they would lay down their arms and submit to the authority of the law. They in reply were profuse of thanks, and asserted that they were loyal and obedient subjects of the queen, but declined to lay down their arms until they were informed of the terms that would be granted to them. To bargaining with insurgents the governor could not descend, but Mr. Sprigg forwarded to Colonel Griffith the following conditions, and granted an armistice from sunrise on the 18th to sunset on the 26th of February, to give ample time to the chiefs to discuss them and announce their decision:

"1. Submission to the authority of the law means submission to the colonial law and government. 2. Arms to be surrendered immediately. 3. An amnesty will be granted to all who have taken part in rebellion, except Masupha, Lerothodi, and Joel Molapo, who will have

to stand their trial, but whose lives will be spared. 4. Basutos will have to pay such fine as parliament may determine. 5. No portion of Basutoland proper will be taken, except such small allotments as may be required for any magisterial station that parliament may consider it expedient to establish. 6. Quthing district, commonly known as Morosi's country, will be dealt with as parliament shall determine. 7. These terms to be accepted or rejected within twenty-four hours of their being handed to Lerothodi. They will not be open to discussion with the government, and if not accepted absolutely within the time mentioned hostilities will recommence at close of armistice. 8. If these terms are not accepted, and hostilities recommence, government will not be bound by present offer."

The Basuto took advantage of the armistice to gather their crops and fortify some hills, and when it expired took no notice of the terms offered to them. They were elated by two events that had recently occurred to their advantage. On the 28th of January Mr. John Austen, magistrate of Quthing, with a strong body of Fingos went on a patrol to learn the exact condition of his district, which was supposed to be free, or nearly free, of insurgents, and when close to Morosi's mountain was suddenly attacked by a much more powerful force. In the action that followed Mr. Austen and about fifty Fingos were killed.

From a military point of view this disaster was not very serious, but it was soon followed by an event of a most untoward nature. The burghers in the field never had any heart in the war, and from the first questioned the justice of compelling the Basuto to surrender guns that they had been allowed openly to purchase. The trade at the diamond fields should have been prohibited, they maintained, but as it had not been, the blacks were justified in what they were doing. The circumstance of great discomfort and loss through absence from

their ordinary occupations gave force to this line of reasoning, and early in February 1881 some five hundred men left Basutoland without notice or permission and returned to their homes. As this act did not meet with disapproval from their fellow burghers, it was evident to the Basuto that the colonial government could not raise a force strong enough to conquer them.

They would not yield therefore, and so matters went on, each side worrying the other, but neither gaining a decided advantage, until the 17th of April, when Lerothodi, who had become jealous of Masupha, informed Colonel Griffith that he placed himself unreservedly in the governor's hands and promised to order his people to cease fighting and return to their homes. This was confirmed in writing on the following day by Lerothodi and Joel, and was communicated by express rider to the nearest telegraph station, which was at Bloemfontein, for transmission to Sir Hercules Robinson, who thereupon on the 29th of April issued the following award :

" I.—DISARMAMENT.

"The chiefs and people should clearly understand that the law with reference to disarmament remains in force, and while such is the case its conditions must be maintained, but a liberal construction will be put upon the provisions with respect to the issue of licenses for possessing and carrying guns. The magistrates will be instructed to issue licenses to all who, in their opinion, can be safely entrusted with arms. With this explanation the following are the conditions which I prescribe under this head—

"Guns shall be surrendered. Any person desiring to retain his gun may, with the approval of the magistrate, have it registered and returned to him on payment of a license fee of £1. Such fee shall thereafter be payable annually, in advance, and shall be applied to the cost of registration and licensing; and the balance, if any,

shall be appropriated towards defraying the interest on the colonial debt incurred through the recent war. The licenses first issued shall not expire until the 1st July 1882.

"All persons preferring to surrender their guns absolutely, or who may be refused licenses, or who may desire, at any future time, to surrender the guns for which they had obtained licenses, shall be paid the full appraised value of their guns in the manner prescribed by the eighth section of the proclamation of 6th April 1880. The valutors shall be named by the governor's agent, and shall consist of the headman of the village, a trader, and the magistrate.

"II.—COMPENSATION TO BE MADE BY THE TRIBE.

"The property taken from the loyal people shall be restored, and all loss or damage made good. Compensation shall be given to traders for loss of property. All government property, namely arms, horses, and cattle captured during the rebellion, shall be returned.

"III.—FINE.

"The tribe shall pay a fine of five thousand head of cattle for having taken up arms against the government.

"These conditions being complied with, there shall be a complete amnesty for all acts committed during the recent rebellion, and no confiscation of territory."

The ministry agreed to the terms of the award, and undertook to be responsible to parliament for it. Both houses were at this time irritated by the action of the imperial authorities, who were disposed to favour the Basuto, as was believed, unduly, and there was a strong feeling in support of severing the tie that connected Basutoland with the Cape Colony. This led to the downfall of Mr. Sprigg's ministry, and on the 9th of

May Mr. (later Sir) Thomas Charles Scanlen became attorney-general and prime minister and Mr. Jacobus Wilhelmus Sauer secretary for native affairs. In this cabinet Mr. J. C. Molteno, who declined to take the first place again, accepted office temporarily as colonial secretary, Mr. John X. Merriman was commissioner of crown lands and public works, Mr. Charles William Hutton was treasurer, and Mr. Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr minister without portfolio. It was a cabinet that the Basuto and all other Bantu in South Africa could implicitly rely on to be treated with moderation and kindness.

Three days after its formation Lerothodi and Joel announced that they accepted the governor's award, and they registered their own guns and some of those of their people and set about collecting cattle to pay the fine. For a long time Masupha stood aloof, but after Mr. Sauer had made a tour through the country and had held a great number of meetings, at each of which the chiefs and people professed to be the most loyal and devoted subjects of the queen, on the 10th of September 1881 he too signed a document accepting the award. If he and the other chiefs had been in earnest, the restoration of order would now have been easy, but nothing was further from the intention of most of them than to keep their promise. To them falsehood and duplicity entailed no disgrace, rather, if successful, they were proofs of cleverness. Letsie even surpassed his father Moshesh in this respect, though in everything else infinitely below him in ability. And so the fine of five thousand head of cattle was paid as a blind to obtain relief from war, but the restoration of the gardens and confiscated property of the loyalists was almost neglected, and only a few guns were either surrendered or registered. Very little hut-tax too was paid, and in addition to keeping up the civil establishments, it was necessary to provide food for the loyalists at the cost of the colonial treasury.

The European part of the force in Basutoland had been dwindling away by desertion, and as hostilities ceased when the award was issued, the burghers, yeomanry, and most of the volunteers that were left were allowed to return to their homes. The yeomanry indeed had so far from fulfilled the expectations of the government concerning them that on the 31st of October 1881 they were finally disbanded.

As Colonel Griffith wished to retire on the ground of ill health, on the 25th of August 1881 he was succeeded by Mr. Joseph Millerd Orpen as acting governor's agent. Mr. Orpen was regarded by the Basuto as their friend and champion, and it was generally believed that he had great influence with them. He was a man of ability, but being thoroughly honest and truthful himself, he did not make allowances for the defects in the character of the people he had to deal with, and was deceived by the plausibility and apparent candour of that wily diplomatist Letsie. With the approval of the ministry, he endeavoured to induce Letsie to assert his authority as paramount chief to enforce compliance with the governor's award and restore order, and for several months he really believed that he would be successful. Even after Masupha, the most straightforward of all the chiefs, threw off the mask and declared that he would neither register his guns, nor tolerate a magistrate independent of his control, nor restore the property of the loyals, nor pay taxes, Mr. Orpen firmly believed that Letsie was in earnest, and accepted as truths the frivolous excuses made for the failure of sham attempts at coercion.

Meantime the people were certainly deteriorating morally. Great quantities of brandy were brought into the country by unprincipled traders, and sold openly, some chiefs, instead of preventing it, purchasing it by the cask themselves. There were also numerous canteens along the Free State side of the border, to which the

Basuto could now resort, as they were able to cross the Caledon without a pass. The magistrates were powerless, for there were no means of enforcing the law.

What was to be done in the matter now became the most important question before the colonial ministry. There was an opinion generally expressed throughout the country that the best thing to do would be to abandon Basutoland altogether, as the colony had no voice or part in receiving the tribe as British subjects, and should not be burdened with the expense of trying to restore order there. But to this the imperial authorities were opposed, and they pointed out that the policy from which the trouble had arisen had been objected to by them.

On the 29th of December 1881 the ministers laid before the governor a minute in which they stated that they were "prepared to appeal to parliament to provide means to enforce the authority of the colonial government, but did not feel justified in doing so unless an assurance could be given that her Majesty's government would leave the local government unfettered in the ultimate settlement of the terms upon which peace was to be concluded." On the 8th of January 1882 Earl Kimberley sent a reply by telegraph that "her Majesty's ministers had no desire to place difficulties in the way of the colonial government, but it would be impossible for them to pledge themselves beforehand to assent to measures of the nature of which they were uninformed." From this it can be seen that home rule was then very limited in the Cape Colony.

On the 24th of January 1882 another minute was laid by Mr. Scanlen before the governor, in which it was stated that "without a definite understanding that the settlement of Basutoland would be left in the hands of the colonial government, it would be useless to submit to parliament any proposal which would involve the possible renewal of hostilities. Ministers could not acquiesce in

the continuance of the present state of affairs, believing that the interests of the colony would not be served by continuing the attempt to assert a rule in Basutoland which the executive was unable to enforce. They were therefore prepared to recommend to parliament the withdrawal of colonial authority from British Basutoland north of the Orange river, to give grants of land in Quthing to those who had adhered to the colonial side, and to compensate them liberally for all their losses, Quthing to form thereafter an integral part of the colony. The colony could not maintain its authority as long as the rebels believed they were protected from the natural results of their contumacy."

Such was the attitude of the prime minister, the leader of the party accused by its opponents of "negrophilism," the head of a cabinet in which Mr. J. W. Sauer, who was known to study the interests of the black people as much as those of the Europeans, was secretary for native affairs, a cabinet supported by Mr. Saul Solomon, the leading philanthropist of his day in South Africa. Surely it could be trusted to deal tenderly and fairly with the Basuto.

This was forwarded to the secretary of state, who replied on the 3rd of February: "If in consequence of the persistent refusal of a portion of the tribe to abide by the award which they accepted, the Cape government and legislature should be of opinion that for the punishment of the offenders confiscation is necessary, within reasonable limits, and that for the future security of the country some parts of Basutoland should be opened for colonial settlement, her Majesty's government would not regard such measures as inadmissible. On the other hand they cannot sanction the partition of Basutoland in the manner described. They are not prepared to undertake to restore order in the country north of the Orange river, disturbances in which arose originally from measures taken by the late colonial administration on their own

responsibility, contrary to the opinion of the home government, and while any other course is practicable, so grave a step as the withdrawal of all civilised government from that district should not be contemplated."

On the 6th of February the colonial ministry laid down their position as follows: "Ministers propose that an intimation be conveyed to the Basuto people that unless the award be fully complied with before a day to be named, it will be held to be finally cancelled. In the event of non-compliance they repeat their proposal regarding Quthing, namely to provide land for the loyal Basuto there and to dispose of the surplus ground as crown lands. To undertake the enforcement of law and order in Basutoland north of the Orange river, and in the event of resistance to authority the colonial government to have liberty to confiscate the property and land of those who continue in rebellion, due regard being paid to the rights of all who respect the law. Abandonment would involve their neighbours in hostilities with the Basuto, which would result in much misery, bloodshed, and loss to the Orange Free State and the ultimate destruction of the Basuto people. They are prepared to advise the legislature to undertake the necessary measures for the establishment of law and order, if a distinct assurance is given to the Basuto that if they disobey a punishment will be inflicted which will adequately mark the offence."

The absolutely free hand which the colonial government asked for was not conceded by the imperial authorities, and without it there was no possibility of compelling the Basuto to comply with the award. Consequently on the 6th of April 1882 a proclamation was issued repealing the application of the disarmament act to Basutoland, which carried with it the withdrawal of the award.

Meantime a commission, of which Mr. Cecil John Rhodes was a member, had been engaged investigating and appraising the losses of the loyal and European traders and others in Basutoland that had not been made good

under the terms of the award, and had sent in a report that £104,156 would be needed to compensate one thousand five hundred and sixty-seven Basuto and £42,316 to compensate eighty-two Europeans.

And now another actor came on the scene, a man who had won renown in China and in another part of Africa, and who, it was hoped, might be able to put matters right in Basutoland. This was Major-General Charles George Gordon, commonly known as Chinese Gordon, the man whose death at Khartum on the 26th of January 1885 caused widespread sorrow throughout the British realm. He had once before been offered an appointment in South Africa, which he had declined, but in March 1882, when he was at Mauritius, he accepted the offer of the post of commandant-general of the colonial forces. In June he arrived, and set about the reorganisation of the different corps, which occupied his attention until September, when he proceeded to Basutoland. Mr. Sauer, the secretary for native affairs, was there at the time, and a force was being collected under command of Lerothodi, which it was hoped would compel Masupha to submit. If Lerothodi was in earnest, as owing to his jealousy of Masupha he may have been, other chiefs with him were not, and the whole thing was a complete failure. But while the so-called army was advancing upon Thaba Bosigo, on the 26th of September General Gordon of his own accord went up that mountain and had an interview with Masupha. Such action seems exceedingly rash, but he was utterly without fear, and believed that he might be able to prevent bloodshed.

His solution of the difficulty was that Masupha should be practically independent in the Berea district, should pay the magistrate stationed with him, who was to be a mere adviser, and should collect the taxes for that purpose. He said that he—the commandant-general of the colonial forces—would not fight against the Basuto, for he admired them. A more conscientious man than

General Gordon never lived, he spoke what he believed to be right, but it is not surprising that after this the government at once accepted the resignation of his office, which he tendered. On the 16th of October he wrote to Mr. Scanlen: "in my communication to Masupha I did not even attempt to follow the wishes of the government, or did I in the least weigh my words with a view to suit the government. I acted entirely upon my own responsibility, and was and am perfectly convinced that what I said was and is the best thing that could be done, therefore instead of regretting it I do not do so."

Mr. Orpen still continued his efforts to induce one section of the tribe to coerce the other, but without any good result, for at heart they were one in opposing the government. He was well liked by the great body of the Basuto, and if any one could have succeeded in such a scheme, he was the man, but it was simply impossible.

A special session of the Cape parliament—19th January to 7th February 1883—was held purposely to consider what should be done with regard to Basutoland, when it was resolved that unless an immediate improvement was effected colonial rule should be withdrawn.

The cancellation of the award having released the Basuto from its obligations, parliament voted the amount of money necessary, in accordance with the report of the commission, to compensate those whose property had been taken from them or destroyed by the rebels. And all this time the establishments in Basutoland had to be kept up, and very little revenue could be collected. From the 1st of July 1880 to the 28th of February 1883—a period of thirty-two months—the total receipts were £9,778, while the expenditure was £57,779. As the war, from its commencement to the acceptance of the governor's award had cost a little over £3,000,000, the colony had reason to rue the day that Sir Philip Wodehouse interposed to save the tribe from destruction.

On the 17th of March Mr. Orpen was succeeded as acting governor's agent by Captain Matthew Smith Blyth, a change which was decidedly objectionable to Letsie, but which seemed to the ministry necessary on account of the new policy they had resolved to adopt.

As soon as they could get away from Capetown after the prorogation of parliament, Messrs. Scanlen and Sauer proceeded to the disturbed district to make a final attempt to obtain a settlement. Meetings were called at Matsieng and at Thlotsi at which the two ministers endeavoured to ascertain the real views of the Basuto, but as Masupha and his adherents did not attend, they learned little more than that Letsie and his partisans were dissatisfied with the loss of power by the chiefs, that they objected to being abandoned and left without protection, and that they would prefer to be ruled directly by the imperial government rather than by the Cape Colony.

A project of a new form of government was then submitted for their consideration, in which they should practically rule themselves. There was to be a council of sixty or seventy chiefs and headmen, to be termed the council of advice, which should largely control legislation, and the chiefs were to have power to try all civil and all criminal cases except those of the very gravest kind. It was an offer of almost complete home rule, modified only by advice.

Messrs. Scanlen and Sauer then returned to Capetown, leaving the Basuto to talk the matter over and come to some decision. It was arranged between Captain Blyth and Letsie that there should be a meeting of the tribe on the 24th of April at Matsieng to give a reply, and special invitations were sent by Letsie to Masupha, Ramanela, and Joel to attend it. The invitation to Joel miscarried, the others took no notice of the matter. They would consent to nothing short of absolute independence, and they controlled at least one-third of the tribe. On the day appointed only about two thousand of Letsie's immediate adherents

were present; so this attempt to arrive at a settlement, like all those preceding it, was a failure.

The ministry now urged the imperial authorities to relieve the colony of the intolerable humiliation of its position, and Mr. J. X. Merriman was sent to England to represent matters more clearly than could be done by correspondence. Just at this time open war broke out again between Jonathan and Joel concerning a herd of cattle, that the former claimed as his by inheritance, while the latter asserted that they had only been lent by Molapo to Jonathan under the mafisa* system, and were really the property of the right hand house. Joel was the victor on this occasion. Some of Jonathan's men were killed, others defended themselves in a lager, many hundreds of his women and children took refuge in the Orange Free State, their huts were burnt, and fifteen thousand head of their cattle, among which were many with lung sickness, were driven over the Caledon. Masupha, who took part with Joel, threatened to send an army to bring them back, so on the 12th of May 1883 President Brand wrote to the earl of Derby, who was then secretary of state for the colonies, requesting him to restore tranquillity on the border in accordance with the terms of the second treaty of Aliwal North.

The secretary of state tried to ignore some of the responsibility under that treaty, but on the 14th of June he wrote to the high commissioner consenting to take over the control of Basutoland under certain conditions, the principal of which were the consent of the Basuto themselves and a pecuniary contribution by the Cape Colony towards the cost of administration, in lieu of the customs duties on goods sold there.

* The Basuto custom of mafisa is for a chief to lend cows to men, often of his own family, on condition of personal service being given in return. The increase belongs to the person to whom the cows are lent. If they die or are lost they must be paid for by the person to whom they are lent.

The Cape parliament met in ordinary session on the 27th of June 1883, and showed itself only too glad to get rid of the Basuto trouble on the imperial government's terms. It passed an act to sever Basutoland from the colony, and agreed to contribute a sum not exceeding £20,000 a year towards the cost of the new administration. Parliament was prorogued on the 28th of September, and the act was reserved for her Majesty's pleasure.

The next thing done was to try to ascertain the views of the Basuto themselves. Letsie, as paramount chief, was requested to convene a general assembly of the tribe, which he did for the 29th of November, but Masupha and his partisans did not attend. To those who were present the question was put: "Do you desire to remain British subjects under the direct government of the queen, and if so, do you undertake to be obedient to the laws and orders of her Majesty's high commissioner, under whose authority you would be placed, and to pay a hut-tax of ten shillings in aid of the administrative expenses of your country?" The answer was in the affirmative, and Letsie, Lerothodi, and thirty-three other chiefs and headmen signed a document to that effect. Joel and several others subsequently gave in their adherence, but Masupha refused to do so. The imperial authorities, however, expressed themselves satisfied, and the final arrangements were then made with Sir Hercules Robinson and Mr. Scanlen, who were in London, Mr. Merriman having returned to the colony.

On the 18th of March 1884 an order of the queen in council was published confirming the act severing Basutoland from the Cape Colony, and on the same day Lieutenant-Colonel Marshall James Clarke, who had been appointed resident commissioner, relieved Captain Blyth of the disagreeable duty he had been performing, and direct imperial rule was established in the territory.

The Basuto were of course elated by the change, as it relieved them of all fear of compulsion of any kind being

employed against them if they did not choose to obey every regulation that might be made by the representative of the queen. To Masupha it meant the confirmation of independence of all control by Europeans that he had long asserted he was striving for. The imperial administration in Basutoland employed moral force alone, which would have been of very little value but for the fear of the chiefs and the people that they might be abandoned if they did not at least profess to be loyal. British protection they valued, because they knew that if it should be withdrawn they would soon be again in the condition in which they were when Sir Philip Wodehouse came to their relief. They were under no delusions as to their having beaten the colonial forces, though it is not probable that any of them fully comprehended the cause of the abandonment of the field by the burghers. So they realised the advantage of protection, and this feeling gave the new authorities a lever to work with. To this, to time, and to missionary teaching the future of the Basuto was now committed.

The defeat of the Cape Colony in the contest with this tribe was certainly a stigma upon European prestige in South Africa, but it is easily explained. The burghers left the field of action and returned to their homes without permission, which caused the collapse of the effort of the government to enforce disarmament. Why did they do so? It was certainly not cowardice that was the cause, nor was it too great a love of home comfort or too great an aversion to the hardships of camp life. It was simply because they believed the war was not a just one on the side of the colony, and when no one reproached them for desertion of duty the government realised that any further effort to prosecute the war would be useless.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE TRANSVAAL UNDER BRITISH RULE IN 1879 AND 1880.

THE history of the Transvaal at this period is a narrative of little else than a continuous effort to recover their independence by the people who had brought the country within the domain of civilisation, and the complete suppression of the revolt of the Bapedi tribe under Sekukuni. The population was slowly increasing by an influx of English land speculators, traders, and professional men, all of whom naturally favoured the retention of the British flag, and to them may be added a very few Dutch-speaking commercial men from the Cape Colony. The villages were thus mainly English in sentiment, while the country people were intensely attached to independence.

Behind the public opinion in England that permitted the government to cancel the Sand River convention and assume control over a previously independent state in opposition to the remonstrances of its people, was a strong conviction that the Transvaal farmers were slaveholders and that their treatment of all coloured people was cruel and oppressive. The calumnies of Barrow and many later writers, in which the acts of a few borderers were represented as the prevalent misdeeds of the entire community, had this pernicious result. Many well-informed writers had described matters in their true light, but their statements were altogether disregarded. One calumny at last was dissipated: the Transvaal farmers were not slaveholders. The British authorities after annexing the country had not released a single slave, because

there was not one to release. But the belief that the farmers and their government treated all coloured people harshly and unjustly remained until a much later date, when it too was dispelled in a manner that admitted of no contradiction. Then it was recognised that though the great majority of the Dutch-speaking inhabitants of the country did not treat coloured people after the English manner, nor regard them as being socially, politically, or ecclesiastically upon an equality with themselves, their mode of dealing with barbarians was well adapted to the condition of those people. Blacks were prohibited from holding land under individual tenure, for instance, because that would not only give them burgher rights and subject them to the performance of burgher duties, but it would enable them to supplant Europeans, as was the case in the Cape Colony. In the reserves, which were secured to them as long as they remained peaceful, however, they could follow their own customs as to holding land without any interference, and in no part of South Africa were there Bantu to be found possessed of more movable property or cultivating more ground than some of those in the Transvaal.

But at the time here treated of the old belief was still prevalent in England, and was sufficiently strong to cause most people there to consider that it was justifiable to deprive the farmers of the Transvaal of their independence.

There was another motive also for what was being done. The party then dominant in England was bent upon effecting the confederation of the different South African communities under one government, believing, and rightly, that it would be for their own good, and further would relieve the British treasury of such charges as that for the Zulu war, which had cost £5,138,000 above the ordinary military expenditure in this country; and Lord Beaconsfield's ministry thought this could be more easily accomplished by keeping the Transvaal as it then was

than by restoring its independence. It was a tremendous mistake, for a forced union could never have been a successful one, and in reality it was this treatment of the Transvaal that prevented the Cape Colony from taking part in the confederation movement. A majority of the colonists might have been willing to take upon themselves the chief share of the burden of defence of the other communities, but they resented the coercion of men of their own race north of the Vaal.

The main hope of the farmers now rested upon Sir Bartle Frere. In December 1878 he wrote from Maritzburg to Messrs. Kruger and Joubert, informing them that he intended to visit the Transvaal as soon as possible, and promising them to do everything in his power to promote the welfare of the country.

Thereupon a mass meeting was held on a farm near Pretoria on the 10th of January 1879, when it was resolved without a dissentient voice that they would ask for nothing and wanted nothing but a reversal of the act of annexation of their country to the British dominions. A strong committee, consisting of seventy of the leading men in the community, was appointed, with Mr. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius as chairman and Mr. W. Eduard Bok as secretary, to take such measures as they might consider advisable or necessary in accordance with this resolution.

The committee requested Mr. Pieter J. Joubert to proceed to Natal and seek an interview with Sir Bartle Frere, in order to give him an account of the existing state of matters and particularly of the proceedings of the mass meeting, and endeavour to get his assistance. Mr. Joubert accordingly rode to Maritzburg, where he found every one panic-stricken, owing to the recent terrible disaster at Isandhlwana. On the 3rd and 4th of February he had interviews with Sir Bartle Frere, who informed him that he had no power to restore the independence of the Transvaal, but short of that was prepared to do

everything possible for the good of the country. He urged that the farmers should assist the British forces against the Zulus, who were a menace to them as well as to Natal, and repeated his promise to visit the country as soon as possible and confer with the people as to their wants. Mr. Joubert replied that nothing but independence was wanted, and if that was conceded the people would work most cordially with the British government. He then returned to Pretoria, and on the 9th of February reported to the committee the unfavourable result of his mission.

At this time Sir Theophilus Shepstone ceased, except in name, to be administrator of the Transvaal. His presence in England had been required by the secretary of state for the colonies, who had directed that Colonel William Owen Lanyon should act as administrator at Pretoria. Colonel Lanyon took over the duty on the 4th of March 1879, and held only an acting appointment until Sir Theophilus Shepstone retired with a pension of £900 a year, when he was confirmed in office and on the 5th of June 1880 took the necessary oaths. There had been no love thrown away on Sir Theophilus Shepstone, to whose misrepresentation of facts the farmers attributed much of their trouble, but towards Colonel Lanyon the feeling was even more bitter. He was a military man, whose habits were reserved, who was accessible only during office hours, and who did not speak a word of Dutch. There was no more sympathy between him and them than between inanimate objects. To support his authority two companies of infantry and a few artillerymen with two Krupp guns were stationed at Pretoria by Colonel Rowlands, who was in military command of the Transvaal. His power of action was very limited, as by order of Sir Michael Hicks Beach, dated 21st of September 1878, all communications with the colonial office were thereafter to be sent through Sir Bartle Frere, who would exercise greater general

supervision over the affairs of the Transvaal than had previously been the case.

One of the last acts of Sir Theophilus Shepstone was an endeavour to secure the adhesion of Mr. Paul Kruger to the British cause by offering him the appointment of commandant, in the hope that many farmers would be willing to serve with him against the Zulus, but the offer was at once (21st of January 1879) declined. At this time the anti-English feeling among the farmers was running higher than ever, owing to the award which gave to the Zulus a large tract of land they held to be honestly and rightfully theirs.

To leave nothing undone in their effort to obtain a peaceable solution of the matter, the committee requested Colonel Lanyon to grant them an interview, and he consented to meet a deputation on the 24th of March at a farm belonging to a man named Strydom fourteen miles or a little over twenty-two kilometres from Pretoria. Twenty-two members with the secretary Mr. Bok were there at the time appointed. He asked them what they wanted, to which they replied that they claimed independence on behalf of the people. He answered that what had been done had been approved of by her Majesty the queen and the parliament of England, and he had no power at all in the matter. He then spoke of the benefits they would derive from English rule if they would only submit unreservedly to it, and of the great prosperity to the country that would follow. They listened with attention to his remarks, but answered that material advantages could not weigh against independence. So all that was gained by the interview was that each party thereafter thoroughly understood the position of the other.

On the 16th of March the lull in the operations in Zululand enabled Sir Bartle Frere to leave Natal, and he set out from Maritzburg to Pretoria. Travelling slowly in order to meet and converse with people on the way, more than three weeks passed by before he reached Kleinfontein,

where several thousand farmers had assembled and had been waiting four weeks to hear from him whether there was any hope of their desire being gratified. On his visit to their camp he went almost alone, as there was some talk in Natal that he might be seized and detained as a hostage, and he wished to show his fearlessness and his confidence in them. He was of course not molested in any way, but he was received coldly and in perfect silence as he rode to the large tent prepared for his use. As calm discussion was impossible after it became generally known that the annexation proclamation would not be cancelled, it was arranged that the committee should meet his Excellency at Erasmus' Spruit, about six miles or ten kilometres from Pretoria, on the 12th of April. There, in answer to a request that a written statement of exactly what was wanted should be given to him, Mr. Pretorius handed in a document as follows :

"1. The great majority of the population is against the annexation.

"2. The people have of their own free will united in a meeting for four weeks, in order to express their wish to his Excellency, from whom they desire the restitution of their right.

"3. The people desire the annexation to be annulled.

"4. The people are not content with anything except the complete restoration of independence as recognised in the Sand River convention of 1852.

"5. That if the convention of 1852 be restored, the people abide by the resolution of the volksraad of 1877, to enter into a closer union with her Majesty's colonies for the benefit of South Africa."

A long discussion took place, in which Sir Bartle Frere explained what he meant by freedom and independence, such as it was in his power to offer them. They consisted of freedom of speech, freedom of action within the law, protection for life and property, the franchise, and that all who paid taxes should have a voice in making their own

laws. His desire was that the committee should advise him as to the best manner of securing these privileges under the British crown, but they declined to do so. They would have absolute independence, meaning by that separate existence as a nation free from connection or dependence on any other nation, or nothing. What he offered, they admitted, was of great value, but it was of no weight compared with what they had a right to. Condensed, their remarks implied that what they desired was the power to shape their destiny in any way that they chose, while what he held out was only liberty to follow a line laid down by others. At length it was arranged that a petition to the queen should be drawn up, which the high commissioner undertook to forward, and to represent occurrences faithfully, but he declined to support the petition, and expressed his belief that there was a considerable party of Dutch-speaking burghers in favour of British rule, and that intimidation had been used to bring together so many people to the mass meeting.

The petition that was drawn up was as follows :

“To her Majesty Victoria, queen of Great Britain and Ireland, &c., &c., &c.

“The undersigned, your Majesty’s humble petitioners, lay their humble petition at your feet, with all the earnestness of men who for two years have fought for their rights with weapons of order and passive resistance, and who still persevere therein.

“They now look to your Majesty as the source of justice, and request of you their right, they implore this with a humility well-nigh equal to that with which we bow ourselves in the dust before Almighty God.

“Two years ago, on the 12th of April 1877, our free independent South African Republic was annexed, in the name of your Majesty, by Sir Theophilus Shepstone; this terrible fact, this trampling down of a poor, weak, but quiet people is without a parallel in history, this fact is in direct conflict with the solemn promises of your Majesty’s govern-

ment, in conflict with the sacred faithfulness due to treaties mutually made between the representatives of your Majesty and the representatives of our people, which took place at Sand River in 1852. Your Majesty's government itself more than once, and expressly, instructed your Majesty's representatives in South Africa to respect the letter and the spirit of the treaty of 1852.

"We have since had quiet and peace during twenty-five years, and have lived in perfect friendship with your Majesty's representatives in South Africa, and with the colonists. When, for instance, your Majesty's colony of Natal was in trouble with the Kaffirs through the rebel Kaffir Langelibalele, the republic did not withhold its aid, so that in the parliament of that colony thanks were expressed to the republic for its help and support.

"And yet more, when Sir Theophilus Shepstone was staying in Pretoria, the government and the people of the South African Republic declared by solemn resolution that they were willing to coöperate with your Majesty's government and the colonies in everything that could tend to the unity and the welfare of South Africa.

"Your Majesty! we were weak, and two years ago weaker, because we had just waged war against a rebellious Kaffir chief, a war that had just been brought to a close. At that moment Sir Theophilus Shepstone annexed the republic. He had been sent out by your Majesty's government under different circumstances; untrue and erroneous accounts transmitted to England had given the secretary of state for the colonies an incorrect impression of the situation here.

"Instead of informing your Majesty's government faithfully, and in accordance with the truth, as to what he found here, Sir Theophilus Shepstone sent untrue accounts to England, and made it appear as if the people were in favour of annexation; the truth is that crafty deceivers led many to sign addresses who did not understand it; they are people whom we cannot better describe than in the

words of the high commissioner: foreign fortune-hunters who neither feel nor have any interest in the country. They betrayed the country.

"How far Sir Theophilus Shepstone exceeded his powers appears from the wording of his instructions, in which it was expressly said that he was to act in harmony with the legislative council of the country. Well, the volksraad solemnly intimated that it would not give up the independence of the country, but, as already stated, were ready for anything that could lead to the unity and welfare of your Majesty's colonies in South Africa.

"Now, how was Sir Theophilus Shepstone able to get your Majesty's government to approve of the annexation? By the untruthful reports that the very great majority of the people were in favour of annexation. The contrary is now so evident that it needs no further proof.

"How was Sir Theophilus Shepstone able to annex the country without the burghers offering any armed resistance to it?

"Your Majesty, it grieves us deeply to have to say it, but we cannot do otherwise than speak the truth: he did it by craft, deceit, and threats. After he had entered the country with the solemn declaration that, as the representative of your Majesty, he came as a friend to friends for the purpose of removing grievances, and in that sacred capacity had been overwhelmed with kindness by us, he shortly afterwards, in the executive council, threatened the country and the people with the savages against whom your Majesty's brave troops are now waging a bloody war in Zululand.* In the same place and on

* The farmers believed that Sir Theophilus Shepstone had threatened to cause Ketahwayo, who was supposed to be under his influence, to invade the Transvaal if they resisted; but he indignantly denied the charge. What he did state was that Ketahwayo had been restrained by his influence from making war on the Transvaal, and that the republic was in danger of a Zulu invasion. The farmers did not believe this, and put an incorrect interpretation upon his words.

the same occasion he threatened us with the armed power of your Majesty's troops already collected by him on the border, and to whom he gave orders on the day of the annexation to enter the country; and yet he wrote to your government that he had strictly refrained from everything that had the least appearance of a threat. Thereupon our government resolved not to draw the sword, so as to prevent those horrors of bloodshed with which Sir Theophilus Shepstone threatened them.

"Your Majesty, we bitterly regret this, for instead of having strengthened our cause thereby, it appears that we are now looked upon as so weak, that anything may be done to us, to us who would not draw the sword just in order to prevent the bloodshed and misery of Kaffir wars; we are reproached with being the cause of those wars.

"In the mean time, during two years, much light has arisen, and on this matter too. We know that ere long the last obscure point will be cleared up, and your Majesty will see by what persons or by whom the native tribes have been incited.

"But no, your Majesty, we continue to cherish the confident hope that by our expectant attitude we have rather gained than lost in your Majesty's eyes, that your Majesty will be grateful to us for having by our passive resistance kept your government from shedding innocent blood, kept it from the abomination of, after having murdered the liberty of a people, persecuting that people by fire and sword. Two years long have we now protested. The first protest was taken to London by two officers of the republic, but the secretary of state for the colonies at that time at once informed the deputation that he would not hear a single word about the annexation.

"When this deputation returned and communicated its negative result, the people arose as one man, and immediately sent a second deputation with a memorial, signed by thousands upon thousands, in order to show the spirit

of the people. To this deputation, in like manner the secretary of state for the colonies at that time would not listen. On the return of this deputation the people were deeply grieved, and instead of submitting, resolved to persevere. They thought the coming of your Majesty's high commissioner would be the means of their obtaining justice. Here was for the first time, they said, a high official, the only representative of your Majesty in South Africa who can now by his own observation convince himself on which side right and truth lay. But the first meeting of the delegate of the people, Mr. P. J. Joubert, with the high commissioner in South Africa at Pietermaritzburg, on the 4th of February 1879, was fruitless. Mr. P. J. Joubert notified in the newspapers that he would give a report of his proceedings at a certain indicated place, and without any persuasion, without any compulsion, thousands of men appeared there, and waited one month for your Majesty's high commissioner.

"When at length his Excellency appeared, the people intimated their unanimous will, but his Excellency declared that he had no power to undo the annexation, but promised to give your government a true representation of our wishes. And this has been fulfilled by his Excellency.

"What his Excellency offered us in your Majesty's name may be expressed in one word, they are priceless liberties, but they do not constitute *liberty*, and this we desire to have restored. They are priceless liberties without which even a free people is still unhappy, but they are just the liberties which we possessed up to the 12th of April 1877, and of which Sir Theophilus Shepstone deprived us. No people having any self-respect can allow its liberty to be bought for a partial return of that which it once possessed. We appeal to the report of this interview with your Majesty's high commissioner in order to show the earnestness, the sacred will of the people.

"What else can we do? Must we draw the sword? Your Majesty, we cannot conceal from you what is happening at the present moment in Pretoria, the old capital of our republic. It is an open town, full of families, women and children. A handful of your Majesty's troops is there. Your representatives there have given orders or permission that in the open streets barricades and breastworks should be erected; private residences are pierced with loopholes. Why? and against what enemy? Against us, the true people of the South African Republic. Is there any clearer evidence needed that the annexation is contrary to the will of the people, if, after two years, the capital of the country must be protected in such a way against the people? It would seem as if men would mislead us into bringing about a massacre; and we are sure that just as much as this grieves us, it will also call forth your Majesty's displeasure, and all the more when your Majesty learns that among the means of defence dynamite also is employed. We will not decide whether to this measure there is not applicable the disapproval of the use of explosive bullets, of which the secretary of state for the colonies at the time, in 1876, suspected the republic, though unjustly. The noble lord called it a savage mode of warfare.

"Must it then, your Majesty, come to war? It cannot be your will, just as it is not our wish.

"Your Majesty cannot desire to rule over unwilling subjects. Unwilling subjects, but faithful neighbours, we will be. We beseech you, put an end to this unbearable state of things, and charge your high commissioner in South Africa to give us back our State.

"Three years ago it was the South African Republic that intimated its readiness to attend a conference for the purpose of discussing common interests in South Africa, which was invited by Lord Carnarvon, in order to discuss confederation. Two years ago our volksraad resolved as stated above, and in the name of the people

of the South African Republic we solemnly repeat the assurance in everything that can conduce to the unity and welfare of the several states in South Africa we will coöperate now and ever.

"In conclusion, should your Majesty have any doubt whether we actually represent the very great majority, we are happy to state to your Majesty that nothing would please us better than to have this decided by the votes of the burghers."

In forwarding this petition to the secretary of state on the 17th of April, Sir Bartle Frere observed:

"By independence they understand the same entire freedom from all control in choosing their own form of government, and their own administrative machinery, as was guaranteed to them by the Sand River convention of 1852. In making this demand they claim to represent the wishes of the very great majority of the Boer population of the Transvaal. They consider that the Boers now assembled represent the very great majority of that population.

"In proof of this they give me the strongest assurance that, besides those whom I saw there on the occasion of my visit to the camp, and who, I may state, undoubtedly represented a strong party, there had been from time to time many more, fully five thousand burghers of the land, who they state all cordially agree with their expressed wishes and views, and that such a number would be a decided majority of the burghers of the land, as estimated by the latest official authority. How far this is the case I have, of course, no opportunity of judging personally, but there can be no doubt that I may say, as the result of my own observations in the camp and elsewhere, that it certainly is a very strong party that has kept up this movement to the present time. As a proof of their earnestness, I can confirm the fact that they have been in an open camp for four weeks waiting my arrival.

"And looking to the bearing and the temper of the members of the committee whom I met, who are men of position in the country and respected, and leaders who have since the earliest establishment of the republic taken a prominent part in the government of the country, I think I may say that their representations are worthy of your earnest consideration.

"They maintain that they are voluntarily assembled, and that what the committee state is the voice, not of delegates or representatives, but of the very great majority of the people. They therefore pray that her Majesty's government, taking these facts as herein represented into consideration, will restore their independence."

The view of the British government was summarised in a despatch from Sir Michael Hicks Beach to Sir Garnet Wolseley, dated 20th of November 1879, which contains the following paragraphs :

"I had hoped that the explanations which I had been able to give to Messrs. Kruger and Joubert, on the occasion of their visit to this country in 1878, of the views and intentions of her Majesty's government with reference to the future constitution of the Transvaal, might have led to a more favourable reception by the malcontent boers of the arguments placed before them by Sir Bartle Frere, and that they would have been prepared to unite with the other inhabitants of the Transvaal in discussing with the high commissioner the best remedies for any particular grievances which might be felt by them, and the definite provisions of the constitution to be established. But Sir Bartle Frere found it impossible to elicit from this portion of the population any public statement beyond the repetition of the demand that the act of annexation should be rescinded, and their views on this subject were again urged in the memorial of the boers' committee which was enclosed in his despatch of the 17th April. This demand has been substantially replied to in the formal announcement which you were authorised to make

on your arrival in the Transvaal that her Majesty's sovereignty must be maintained; but you can assure the committee that though their request has not been complied with, careful and attentive consideration has been accorded to their memorial.

"I will not dwell upon the reasons which necessitated the annexation; for it will be obvious, even to the memorialists, that the question cannot now be discussed as if that step had never been taken. It would not be possible, and if possible would be injurious to the country, to reestablish the form of government which existed before the 12th of April 1877. The interests of the large native population who now (with the exception of Sekukuni and those associated with him) are quiet and contented; of the European settlers who have acquired property in the province in the full belief that the annexation will be maintained; and of the peaceful and industrious residents in and about Pretoria and other centres of population, in whose hands is nearly all the commerce of the country, have apparently been entirely disregarded by those who would deprive them of the advantages which they desire to retain under the authority of the crown. And this is the more remarkable as those who are most opposed to the present government of the Transvaal appear unable to define the precise arrangements which they would propose to substitute for it.

"Indeed, I cannot but hope that upon a calm consideration of the prospects of the Transvaal even the boers themselves may yet see that their natural desire for self-government will most surely be realised by that cordial coöperation with her Majesty's government which I have so often invited, rather than by persisting in demands which cannot be complied with, for the restoration of an isolated independence which has already failed to ensure the peace of the country and the security of its inhabitants. For it would seem that the sentiment of opposition to the supremacy

of the queen must, in a great degree, be based upon a misapprehension of circumstances which have long existed in South Africa. The power and authority of England have for many years been paramount there, and neither by the Sand River convention of 1852, nor at any other time, did her Majesty's government surrender the right and duty of requiring that the Transvaal should be governed with a view to the common safety of the various European communities. It has long been obvious that the largest measure of freedom which the country could enjoy, consistently with the fulfilment of this condition, would be found in that union which seems to have been contemplated by the volksraad in 1877, when by a resolution quoted and adopted in the memorial of the boer committee, dated April 16th, and again in their memorandum of the same date, they declared their readiness to enter into a closer union with her Majesty's colonies for the benefit of South Africa.

"As there has never been any reason for doubting that her Majesty's government would continue to be supreme in South Africa, the union provided for by the South Africa Act 1877 is practically that which the people of the Transvaal have professed to desire; and it is obvious that as a member of a South African confederation, the country might receive a constitution which would confer upon the people, under the paramount authority of the British crown, the fullest independence compatible with that thorough unity of action which the common welfare demands; and would enable them practically to govern themselves according to their own views in all matters except those as to which an independent power, unless determined to be hostile, would be obliged to coöperate with its neighbours.

"I do not believe that the great majority of those who have been represented as desiring the reversal of the annexation have intended to demand more than this; and those who have persuaded them to distrust and to resist

the friendly proposals of her Majesty's government have misled them. If the people of the Transvaal will but act in the spirit of those resolutions and assurances which I have quoted, they will aid the government in 'giving them back their State,' by securing to them in a South African confederation that constitutional form of self-government which is now possessed by their brethren in the Cape Colony; and they will then find themselves in possession of as full independence as their position in South Africa enables them to enjoy."

The Transvaal people had the fullest sympathy of the burghers of the Orange Free State and of a very large proportion of those of the Cape Colony. They requested the latter to support their petition to her Majesty, and a memorial praying for the annulment of the annexation was signed by seven thousand two hundred and fifty-six individuals and forwarded to England. But it had no effect there, nor was any direct reply to the Transvaal petition ever made. Sir Garnet Wolseley indeed issued a proclamation that the queen's sovereignty would never be withdrawn, and asserted that as long as the sun shone the British flag would wave over the country, but the burghers were disinclined to put his authority upon an equality with that of the sovereign of the British realm.

So matters wore on, the farmers waiting anxiously for a reply from England, and the attention of the remainder of South Africa being diverted for a time to the Zulu war. As soon as that was over, the trouble caused by the annexation again became the leading topic, and most men felt that the interests of the entire country required its settlement without further delay. To impress their views upon Sir Bartle Frere "that for the peace and good government of South Africa in general it is desirable that the government of the Transvaal should be settled upon some basis that would secure permanent tranquillity to that country, that with the view of ascer-

taining the real state of feeling among the inhabitants a convention should be summoned to discuss the question of the present and future position of the constitution, and that in the event of the majority being against the retention of British rule the independence of the country should be restored under such guarantees as would secure its future good government and the maintenance of peaceful relations with their neighbours," a large number of members of parliament and of the leading men of the western districts, English and Dutch, waited upon Sir Bartle Frere in Capetown on the 8th of November, and discussed the matter. Among them were Mr. Saul Solomon, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, Mr. J. X. Merriman, Mr. P. J. Stigant, and others representing every shade of political opinion in the colony, all of whom would have rejoiced to see the farmers of the Transvaal accepting the new position with cheerfulness, but who were decidedly opposed to their being forced to become British subjects against their will. Sir Bartle Frere of course could do nothing except report to England, and there the high authorities evinced no disposition to make any change.

There was some talk among the burghers of emigration, but where were they to go to make new homes? The terrible suffering and loss of life of those who had crossed the Kalahari deterred them from moving in that direction* and northward the way was barred by the Matabele, with whom they were at peace, so the idea of migrating had to be abandoned. Many then made up their minds to take up arms, but to do so ammunition was needed. There was a large supply of cartridges, percussion caps, and gunpowder in the hands of traders, which they were

* About five hundred persons in all left the Transvaal, and in February 1881 two hundred and thirty of them reached Humpata, about sixty miles or ninety-six kilometres from Mossamedes, where they settled. The others perished on the way. They were very kindly received and treated by the Portuguese authorities.

not permitted by law to sell except upon the production of permits specifying the amounts and signed by a landdrost. In many places now parties of farmers visited the traders' shops and took forcible possession of all the ammunition on hand, in nearly every instance, however, leaving on the counters the full value in money, and doing no other damage.

Soon after the meeting with the leading Zulus at Ulundi, Sir Garnet Wolseley proceeded to Pretoria. He reached that town in the evening of Saturday the 27th of September, and on the 29th he took the oaths of office as governor of the Transvaal. He announced that the annexation would never be cancelled, that all the occupied farms on the eastern border were restored to the country, and that law and order would be enforced. The indications that active resistance might be expected were not to be mistaken. In addition to the seizure of ammunition, the 26th of October had been appointed by the farmers as a day of prayer throughout the land that God would be pleased to bless the righteous efforts of the people to regain their independence, and on the 10th of December a mass meeting was to be held near Pretoria to decide upon the course to be adopted. As a precautionary measure therefore Sir Garnet Wolseley caused defensive works to be constructed at Marthinus-Wesselsdroom, Standerton, Middelburg, and Heidelberg, and stationed detachments of troops in these villages, and also in Pretoria, Luneburg, and Utrecht, as well as keeping a reserve force at Newcastle in Natal. The troops selected for this purpose were the first dragoon guards, the second battalion of the fourth regiment, part of the second battalion of the twenty-first, the fifty-eighth regiment, part of the eightieth, and the frontier light horse. But there were frequent changes in the different garrisons, and a few weeks later some of those mentioned above were withdrawn to take part in the operations against Sekukuni, which will presently be related.

On the 6th of May 1879 Sir Bartle Frere had authorised Sir Owen Lanyon to constitute an executive council, and on the 2nd of October Sir Garnet Wolseley issued a proclamation to the same effect, but the letters patent necessary for this purpose were not issued until the 8th of November. The executive council then created consisted of the governor, the lieutenant-governor or officer administering the government, the officer commanding her Majesty's troops in the territory, the colonial secretary, the attorney-general, the secretary for native affairs, and three non-official members to be appointed by the head of the government and to hold office during pleasure. The non-official members were to receive salaries of £300 a year.

At the same time, 8th of November, a legislative council was created, consisting of the head of the government, the chief justice, the members of the executive council, and six members to be nominated by the head of the government and to be summoned by him at the beginning of each session. Any member could use the English or the Dutch language at his option. Such a council was a sad contrast to the freely elected volksraad of former years, but it was impossible for the British authorities at that time to grant one more liberal, nor would the people have been satisfied with even full responsible government.

On the 10th of March 1880 the legislative council thus constituted met. It was presided over by Sir Owen Lanyon, though Sir Garnet Wolseley was still in the country. It passed several useful measures, and unanimously adopted a resolution in favour of confederation with the other European communities in South Africa, but its proceedings attracted very little notice, and the great bulk of the burgher population refused to be bound by its enactments. The English element in the country, which it might be regarded as representing,—though some of the most stalwart repudiated it,—was increasing, though so slowly that only five hundred and fifteen

names could be obtained to a petition to Mr. Gladstone requesting him not to renounce her Majesty's sovereignty over the Transvaal.

When the British troops under Colonel Rowlands retired from the Bapedi country, some forts in the neighbourhood were garrisoned partly by soldiers and partly by volunteers, with the object of preventing Sekukuni from sending out raiding parties, but for that purpose they were not sufficiently strong. Early in February 1879 two Bapedi bands went out, and in the evening of the 8th of that month attacked some Swazi kraals, where they killed every individual except the young women. They collected all the cattle, and commenced to retreat, but the Swazis farther in advance, on learning what had occurred, followed them up and attacked them, when fully three-fourths of their number were killed and the girls and the cattle were recovered.

In June raids were made by the Bapedi into the Lydenburg and Zoutpansberg districts, and a good many cattle were driven off from farms, but the Europeans who were plundered managed to escape. Colonel Lanyon then raised a force of one hundred and fifty-seven Europeans, sixty-four half-breeds, and one hundred and two blacks at Kimberley, fifty-one Europeans and a thousand blacks in the district of Zoutpansberg, and six hundred and eight blacks in the district of Rustenburg, with whom, in addition to seventy-five men of the eightieth regiment, nineteen artillerymen, and a Swazi contingent, he intended to attack Sekukuni. But Sir Garnet Wolseley instructed him not to do so, as the force collected was not strong enough to be certain of success, and in case of defeat English prestige would suffer with all the tribes in the country. The greater part of the force was therefore disbanded to save expense. Fort Weeber had been rebuilt, and the volunteers who occupied it had succeeded in capturing five hundred head of cattle and killing sixteen Bapedi.

Early in September the ninety-fourth regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Baker Russell, a detachment of mounted infantry, and Ferreira's horse, one hundred strong, were sent to Lydenburg, and in the posts on Sekukuni's border there were then stationed one hundred and forty-three men of the eightieth regiment, two hundred and ninety volunteers, and nine hundred and fifty-seven Bantu. It was supposed that Sekukuni would be overawed by this force, which to him would appear too formidable to be resisted, and on the 30th of September Captain Clarke was sent to him to offer peace on the following terms :

"1. That he should for ever acknowledge the sovereignty of her Majesty, and should pay taxes to the Transvaal government.

"2. That he should preserve peace and order in the district under his control, and should surrender any persons offending against the government, or make reparation for what they had done.

"3. That he should pay immediately a fine of two thousand five hundred head of cattle.

"4. That he should permit the establishment within his territory of military or police posts."

These terms were rejected by the rebel chief, who regarded his stronghold as impregnable, so there was no other course left than to commence military operations against him.

For this purpose a very strong force was assembled, consisting of eight companies of the ninety-fourth regiment, six companies of the second battalion of the twenty-first, two companies of the eightieth, the frontier light horse, Ferreira's horse, two hundred and twenty-five mounted infantry, a hundred and fifty engineers, some artillerymen with four field guns, several small corps of volunteers, one hundred and twenty-five mounted Batlokua, one thousand Transvaal Bantu on foot, and eight thousand Swazis.

On the 25th of November, two columns, one under Major Carrington, the other under Major Bushman, seized two positions, which they named Forts Alexandra and George, one on each side of Sekukuni's stronghold, and about three miles or five kilometres from it. There the final preparations were made, and at daybreak in the morning of the 28th three columns advanced to the attack of the mountain.

Colonel Murray led the central column, which consisted of all the troops and the artillery. It was considered necessary to set an example of courage to the Bantu auxiliaries, and so Colonel Murray led the attack and the soldiers were the first to charge up the hill after it had been bombarded by the cannon. The Swazis, who with Ferreira's horse formed the right-hand column, seeing the white troops acting so gallantly, rushed on with a yell, determined not to be outdone, and thirsting for vengeance upon their old enemies. They were soon in possession of the rebel chief's residence, from which, however, he had escaped to a cave, and though they met with a most stubborn resistance and many of their own men fell, they did not cease for an instant to push on.

The left-hand column consisted of the Transvaal Bantu and the whole of the irregular corps except Ferreira's horse, which was with the right column. It was commanded by Major Carrington, but did not take so active a part in the assault as either of the others.

About seven o'clock some of the Swazis, who were almost as agile as baboons, and who were in high spirits over the enterprise, reached the crest of the mountain, but the resistance was not yet over. There were caves to be cleared, and a hill, which formed a kind of citadel, to be taken. By ten o'clock, however, this was accomplished, and nothing more remained to be done.

The loss of the Europeans was three officers and five men killed, and seven officers and thirty-nine men

wounded. How many of the Bantu auxiliaries, especially of the Swazis, lost their lives or were wounded cannot be stated with any pretence to accuracy, and of the Bapedi loss nothing more can be said than that it was very heavy. It was indeed commonly stated a few days later that fifteen hundred unburied corpses were polluting the air, but that number rested solely on guesswork.

Sekukuni escaped when his stronghold was taken, but he was so hemmed in that four days later, on the 2nd of December, he was obliged to surrender to Commandant Ferreira. He was sent a prisoner to Pretoria, where he was kept in confinement for many months. An act was passed by the Cape parliament authorising his detention as a prisoner of state in the Cape Colony, but it was never made use of. He represented himself as having only daughters left, all of his sons, eight in number, as well as three of his brothers, having been killed by the Swazis when his stronghold was taken.

After the capture of Sekukuni and the death of the leading men of his immediate clan, all of the petty chiefs who had been his vassals tendered their submission to the Transvaal government, and as a proof of their good faith surrendered his cattle. They were then permitted to retain the land they were occupying, upon condition of paying taxes and each admitting the supremacy of the European authorities. To these conditions they agreed without demur, and the troops and auxiliary forces were then withdrawn from the locality.

After the overthrow of Sekukuni by Sir Garnet Wolseley, there was peace between white men and blacks throughout all Africa south of the Limpopo, and the supremacy of the Europeans was unquestioned. That this happy condition of things might be lasting was the strong desire of everyone, a desire unfortunately doomed to disappointment through a blunder on the part of the Cape government that led before another twelvemonth passed away to a reversal in one important locality of

the position as regards the two races. And even worse than any war with Bantu was the impending calamity of a war with men of European blood, who might have been standing shoulder to shoulder with all other white men in South Africa in the effort to promote the prosperity of the country and to carry the blessings of Christianity and civilisation to the interior of the continent.

On the 10th of December a meeting of the farmers took place at Wonderfontein, at which six thousand three hundred and five men were present. The greatest unanimity prevailed, all the differences which in ordinary circumstances tended to promote discord among them having disappeared in the intense desire of all to preserve their nationality. During seven days they deliberated calmly, with the republican flag flying above them, for they maintained that as they had never consented to the abolition of the Sand River convention the republic was *de jure* in existence. The following resolutions were adopted as expressing the desire of the people :

“As it has been shown that her Majesty's high commissioners and ministers are deaf to justice and right, and it thus becomes clear that we will never get back our independence by petitions and supplications, now therefore it is our decided and earnest demand:—

“1. That the vice-president shall at once come forward as president and take up his position as such.

“2. That the president shall at once convene the volksraad, according to the constitution.

“3. We hereby proclaim that we will never submit to the British government, and that we continue to emphatically protest against all proclamations.

“4. We desire nothing else than our independence, and solemnly declare to be prepared to sacrifice our life and shed our blood for it.

“5. We demand to have our government reinstated as soon as possible according to the constitution of the South African Republic.

"6. It is therefore the humble but earnest wish of the people that our national committee shall, as soon as possible, take the requisite steps for the recovery of our independence.

"7. Should, however, the committee know of a better method, it is our humble but earnest wish that the committee should at once submit such method to the people."

These resolutions were afterwards amplified as follows:

"The people of the South African Republic have made known their will last Friday, and now proceed to amplify the same by resolutions. The time for memorials to the English government is past; in that way no deliverance is possible. The officials of her Majesty the queen of England have, by their untrue and false representations, closed the door to her Majesty and to parliament. This is for their responsibility. The people have done what they could. Again and again would they approach the queen of England, for the people believe, as certainly as the sun shines, that if the queen of England and the English nation knew that a free people is oppressed here they would never allow it. England has been the protector of liberty everywhere, and would also protect our liberty, which is now being oppressed. But her Majesty's officials in South Africa, who continue to defend the necessity of the annexation, conceal the truth, and smother our voice. We cannot, therefore, address ourselves to England; nobody there replies to us. It is therefore that we, the people of the South African Republic, proceed to resolve:

"1. That the people of the South African Republic have never been and do not wish to be her Majesty's subjects, and that everyone who speaks of us as rebels is a slanderer.

"2. The people desire that the government of the South African Republic, whose functions have been stopped, shall resume the same as soon as possible.

"3. The people desire that the volksraad shall be convened as soon as possible.

"4. The people desire to show to friend and foe that they wish to avoid everything in the way of bloodshed and violence, and therefore expect from their volksraad to take such steps as will make possible a peaceable solution of the difficulties with the English government.

"5. The people expect from the volksraad, in the furtherance of that object, in the first place a proclamation or law on the following points:—(a) That all rights of the present inhabitants of the Transvaal shall be under the protection of the laws of the country. (b) That the right of the English government to nominate a consul or other diplomatic person to look after the interests of British subjects continues to be recognised. (c) That the lawful expenditure legally made by the *interregnum* for the expenses of the country shall be recognised. (d) That differences as to boundary lines with natives shall be submitted to arbitration. (e) That for their native policy the government is prepared to adopt general rules in consultation with the colonies and states of South Africa. (f) That the republic is prepared, in consultation and concurrence with the colonies and states of South Africa, to enter into a confederation.*

"6. The people declare that they will be forgiving towards all burghers of the South African Republic who through circumstances had been brought to temporarily leave the side of the people, but they cannot promise to extend this forgiveness to those burghers of the South African Republic who come forward as open enemies of the people and continue to deceive the English government by their false representations.

"7. The people further declare that, until the time that the republic is restored, they will not, except under coercion, appear in the law courts of the country, and

* For their meaning of the word *confederation* see page 185.

that they will have all differences amongst themselves decided by arbitration.

"8 and 9. (Of no importance.)

"10. The people declare that, by God's help, they desire to have a strong government for the South African Republic, respect for the law, the development and advancement of the country, and they promise, man for man, to coöperate for that purpose, and to defend their government till death."

The following resolutions were subsequently adopted:—

"The people, considering the circumstances in which the country has unfortunately been placed under the annexation, and the use which is being made of it by those persons (whom Sir Bartle Frere terms foreign adventurers) in order to enrich themselves, without regarding the true interests of the country, and who oppose themselves to the lawful people of the South African Republic, and also that they keep up the supplies for the troops and the government, who perpetuate disaffection in the country, now therefore resolve:—

"1. To bind themselves solemnly henceforth not to sell or supply to, and not to purchase from, those persons or their agents who coöperate with the British government here against the independence of the South African Republic.

"2. The people resolve that if the British government continue to suppress the independence of the people, and refuse to remove the difficulties of the annexation in a friendly way before the 6th of April next, the people will then consider themselves bound (a) to burn or otherwise destroy all writings, books, or documents in the English language under their reach; (b) to remove all their children from English schools; (c) not to allow English speaking in their houses, and to oppose it as much as possible; (d) to refuse hospitality to Englishmen or those in favour of the English, and not to give them any assistance or protection on the roads."

"The people resolve that, in case the English government take a friendly course, the committee be instructed to work for the interests of the country, and that notice of this resolution be given to the English government."

A declaration of their rights was sent to Sir Garnet Wolseley, who took no other notice of it than to cause Mr. Pretorius, the chairman of the meeting, and Mr. Bok, the secretary, to be apprehended and committed to prison. They were, however, almost immediately released on bail, and neither of them was ever actually brought to trial. Sir Garnet Wolseley indeed endeavoured to win over Mr. Pretorius by offering him a seat in the executive council, which carried a salary of £800 a year with it, but the offer was declined.

In England there was a strong party, though a minority as yet both in the country and in parliament, opposed on principle to the treatment the Transvaal had received from Lord Beaconsfield's ministry. At the head of this party was the right honourable William Ewart Gladstone, who in his electioneering speeches in Midlothian in November and December 1879 and the early months of 1880 denounced the forcible annexation of a small, though free, republic against the wishes of its people in language as vigorous as any used in South Africa. The farmers in the Transvaal and their friends everywhere took heart on reading these brilliant speeches in the newspapers, and awaited the result of the election with anxiety mingled with hope. The liberal party was returned to power with a large majority, and on the 23rd of April 1880 Mr. Gladstone became prime minister of England. Five days later the earl of Kimberley became secretary of state for the colonies.

So ended the control of the Beaconsfield ministry over South African affairs. Both Lord Carnarvon and Sir Michael Hicks Beach really desired the improvement of the country, but they were like an English landlord of the olden time, who wished to see his tenants prosperous,

only their prosperity must be due to him. Their federation scheme—from which unification might have evolved—was well intended, and if they had not tried to force it on in their way it would probably in course of time have been carried out, as it was, they made it impossible. No one attempts now to justify their treatment of the Transvaal, such a system of violence is as dead and abhorrent to the England of to-day as is the death penalty for petty theft.

The farmers naturally thought that Mr. Gladstone would restore the independence which he accused his political opponents of having unjustly taken from them, now that it was within his power to do so. But new interests had arisen in the country since the annexation, which he thought it might be perilous to disturb, and besides it is opposed to custom directly to overturn an accomplished act of a preceding ministry. He was willing, even anxious, to give them all the liberty that was possible under the British flag, but independence he declined to restore. It came to this, that Mr. Gladstone would do no more for them than his predecessor was prepared to do, if they would only become loyal subjects of her Majesty the queen, but this they would not do.

On the eighteenth of March, while there was still hope that occurrences in England would terminate in their favour, the independence committee met, and resolved to postpone indefinitely the mass meeting that was to have been held on the 8th of April, and to send Messrs. Kruger and Joubert to the Cape Colony to solicit the support of the people there. On their journey these gentlemen received the warmest sympathy, meetings were held to hear addresses from them, and resolutions were passed pledging moral support to their cause. They arrived in Capetown on the 5th of May 1880, two days before the meeting of the Cape parliament, and had successful interviews with many members of both houses, who felt all that sympathy with them which the ties of blood could create. On the 14th

of May Mr. Sprigg, the prime minister, announced in the house of assembly the receipt of a telegram from the secretary of state for the colonies that the queen's sovereignty over the Transvaal could not be relinquished, but this only made Messrs. Kruger and Joubert more active in prosecuting the object of their mission.

On the 18th of June a petition from five thousand three hundred and eighteen inhabitants of the colony was laid before the assembly, praying the house not to take any step which might be considered to imply an approval of the policy pursued towards the Transvaal, by appointing delegates to a conference to meet delegates from the existing government of the Transvaal, but rather to take steps to afford relief to the Transvaal people. After this the warmest supporters of confederation despaired of carrying the measure, but it did not have the effect of causing Mr. Gladstone to alter his decision.

A prime minister of England possesses enormous power, but this is because he represents the views at the time of a majority of the electors, and if he acts contrary to those views his power at once ceases. Mr. Gladstone was termed the leader of the liberal party, but to a large extent he was as much influenced by it as it was by him. In this party were to be found most of the members of the great benevolent and philanthropical societies, whose power was not indeed as great in 1880 as it had been fifty years earlier, but whose influence was still too considerable to be overlooked. Very well meaning they were, and they had certainly accomplished a great amount of good, but it cannot be denied that they had strong prejudices against any other methods of improvement of uncivilised races than their own. They had constituted themselves the champions of the coloured people everywhere, but especially of those in the British possessions overseas, and they professed to be horrified by the treatment of blacks by the South African farmers. Any tale of cruelty, however gross, was implicitly believed

by these well-meaning people, and especially charges of dealing in slaves found strong favour with them. So the annexation of the South African Republic to the British dominions was justified by them, because they believed the farmers would now be restrained from practising oppression and the black people would be treated in accordance with their views. This condition of a large section of the liberal party must be taken into account when dealing with Mr. Gladstone's refusal to restore the independence of the South African Republic. It would have been much easier for Lord Beaconsfield than for his successor to do that.

And so the most deplorable war that South Africa had ever known was brought on, and the whole country was agitated and split by it even before the commencement of active hostilities.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TRANSVAAL WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

SIR GARNET WOLSELEY's opinion of the military abilities of the farmers was not high, and before he left the Transvaal he withdrew some of the garrisons of the villages and sent them to Natal. There were then only five battalions of British troops in all South Africa, the second battalion of the twenty-first, the fifty-eighth, the third battalion of the sixtieth, the ninety-first, and the ninety-fourth. The ninety-first was in garrison in the Cape peninsula, and most of the others were weak from desertion on an almost unprecedented scale. In January 1880 the second battalion of the twenty-fourth left for Gibraltar, in February the second battalion of the fourth left for India, and in April the eightieth left for Ireland. The first dragoon guards were under orders to proceed to India, but were delayed for want of a transport until September.

Sir Garnet Wolseley, having completed the duties he was sent to perform, embarked at Durban to return to England on the 27th of April 1880, and was succeeded as governor of Natal and high commissioner for South-Eastern Africa by Major-General Sir George Pomeroy Colley, who took the oaths of office on the 2nd of July. In the Transvaal there were some important changes in the personnel of various departments. Mr. Melmoth Osborn, having accepted the office of British agent in Zululand in succession to Mr. Wheelwright, who resigned, on the 7th of February 1880 was replaced by Mr. George Hudson as colonial secretary. On the 2nd of January Attorney-General Maasdorp resigned, and on the 7th of February Mr.

Morcom, previously an official in Natal, was appointed to the vacant post. Sir Jacobus Petrus de Wet, previously recorder of Griqualand West, was appointed chief justice, and Mr. Justice Kotzé, who had been sole judge since the annexation, was obliged to take the second place. Mr. Steele, previously an official in India, was appointed revenue commissioner, and set about collecting the arrear taxes with great vigour.

The extent of ground passing into the hands of speculators was becoming alarming, because it implied that the greater part would be lost for European settlement. Many of the farmers were willing to sell at very low prices, with a view of being able to move to the Free State, and Englishmen who were able to raise a little money were eager to purchase and let the ground at high rents to Bantu tenants, as in Natal. This they called bringing capital into the country and increasing the population of the towns, for very few indeed went to reside on the purchased ground themselves. Pretoria in this way more than doubled its population during the three years 1877-79, the newcomers, many of whom were artisans, being entirely English or German. This town was the first in the Transvaal to be accorded municipal institutions, which it acquired on the 31st of August 1880.

Upon the return of Messrs. Kruger and Joubert from their mission to the Cape Colony it was resolved to hold another mass meeting on the 8th of January 1881, but as everything was in train for an appeal to arms, an event of minor importance precipitated the crisis. In November 1880 Mr. Cellier, editor of the *Volkstem*, was arrested for publishing in his paper what Colonel Lanyon deemed to be a seditious libel, namely that one hundred and ten burghers of Wakkerstroom announced that they would not pay taxes or have any dealings with Englishmen. This arrest, followed by his trial before the landdrost of Pretoria, who sentenced him to imprisonment for one month and to pay a fine of £25, caused some commotion among the few Dutch-

speaking residents in the towns and villages, but would not have provoked a rising had it not been for an event that appealed more directly to the passions of the farmers.

A man named Bezuidenhout having refused to pay the full amount of the taxes demanded from him, judgment was obtained against him in the court of the landdrost of Potchefstroom. His waggon was then attached, and was advertised to be sold at eleven o'clock in the morning of Thursday the 11th of November to meet the amount of the judgment, £27 5s., with the costs of the proceedings. A little before the time appointed an armed party of about three hundred men under Commandant Pieter Cronjé rode into Potchefstroom, and in defiance of the landdrost and the sheriff took possession of the waggon and removed it.

They then formed a camp not far from the village, where they were joined by others, until some fifteen hundred resolute men fully armed were assembled. On the 29th Mr. George Hudson, the colonial secretary, visited the camp with the view of inducing the burghers to surrender the leaders to be tried for sedition, but was informed by Mr. Kruger that the matter had become a national one. It was only owing to Mr. Kruger's influence that violence was not used towards him, but he was ordered to leave the camp at once. Soldiers were being sent to Potchefstroom, and before the end of the month three hundred and seventy men were in lager there.

On the 8th of December there was a mass meeting on Mr. M. W. Pretorius's farm Paardekraal, near Pretoria, and a few days later a resolution was carried unanimously that the volksraad should resume its sittings, and that Messrs. Paul Kruger, Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, and Pieter Joubert should form a triumvirate to carry on the government provisionally. Mr. Joubert was also elected commandant-general. Each man of the five or six thousand present took the following oath, and deposited a stone as a witness on a heap which was afterwards covered by the

national monument close to Krugersdorp: "In the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, and prayerfully waiting on His gracious help and pity, we, burghers of the South African Republic, have solemnly agreed, as we do hereby agree, to make a holy covenant for us and for our children, which we confirm with a solemn oath. Fully forty years ago our fathers fled from the Cape Colony in order to become a free and independent people. Those forty years have been forty years of pain and suffering. We established Natal, the Orange Free State, and the South African Republic, and three times the English government has trampled on our liberty and dragged to the ground our flag, which our fathers had baptized with their blood and tears. As by a thief in the night has our republic been stolen from us. We neither may nor can endure this. It is God's will, and is required of us by the unity of our fathers* and by love to our children, that we should hand over intact to our children the legacy of the fathers. For that purpose it is that we here come together and give each other the right hand as men and brethren, solemnly promising to remain faithful to our country and our people, and with our eye fixed on God, to coöperate until death for the restoration of the freedom of our republic. So help us Almighty God."

The cause was then solemnly committed to the ruler of all things, and the farmers having formed themselves into three commandos marched away. One of the commandos, under Pieter Cronjé, marched to Potchefstroom to have the proclamation reëstablishing the republic printed, another, under Frans Joubert, marched to the north-east to prevent reinforcements of troops reaching Pretoria, and the third, which was much the largest, proceeded to Heidelberg to instal the government.

On the anniversary of the defeat of Dingana, the 16th of December 1880, the republican flag—the four-colour as it was termed—was hoisted again at Heidelberg, where

* Meaning by this our unity with our fathers.

the provisional government established its head-quarters, and a notification that the republic had been restored was sent to Sir Owen Lanyon, with a request that he would retire at once from the country with the British troops.

Sir Owen Lanyon had issued an order that no bodies of armed men were to approach any village nearer than a mile, but Commandant Cronjé, who took the proclamation to Potchefstroom to be printed, treated the order with contempt. He entered the village with his men on the 16th, and was fired upon by the soldiers in garrison there, when a burgher named Frans Robberts was severely wounded, and the first blood in a most deplorable war was shed.

The camp or lager at Potchefstroom was outside the village, and had been enclosed with an earthen wall for defence. In the village the courthouse, prison, and some adjoining buildings had been barricaded to form a kind of fort, in which were stationed as a garrison forty men of the second battalion of the twenty-first regiment under Captain Falls, twenty-six volunteers under Commandant Raaf, and sixteen local volunteers under the landdrost, Mr. Goetz. Major M. J. Clarke was in chief command. Commandant Cronjé immediately took possession of all the surrounding houses and blockaded the fort, when firing commenced from both sides, but as all the combatants were under cover, the resultant casualties were not great. On the British side Captain Falls and a volunteer were killed and nine others were wounded. During the night of the 17th the farmers managed to break through the outer wall of one of the buildings, and to effect an entrance. They then set fire to the thatched roof of the courthouse, which made the whole place untenable, and in the early morning of the 18th Major Clarke was obliged to surrender. The only condition granted was that the lives of the prisoners should be respected. With this surrender the farmers obtained a small supply of ammunition, of which they were much in want.

Commandant Cronjé then laid siege to the camp outside the village, which was garrisoned by three companies of the second battalion of the twenty-first regiment and a few artillerymen, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Winsloe. The defence of this camp, conducted under great difficulties, was the most gallant exploit of the British forces during the whole war. The quantity of provisions on hand was not large, and several families left their homes in Potchefstroom and took refuge under the protection of the troops, bringing hardly anything with them but the clothing they were wearing at the time. The only accommodation that could be provided for the women and children was a shelter underground. It was necessary to cut up the tents to make sandbags, and the soldiers were without protection from the weather in an unusually wet season. Yet no one thought of surrender while sufficient food remained to sustain life, and though the casualties were enormous, the fort held out for many weeks.

The garrison of Pretoria consisted of four companies of the second battalion of the twenty-first regiment and one company of the ninety-fourth with a few artillerymen, and as it was considered necessary to strengthen it, Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Anstruther was instructed to march from Lydenburg for that purpose with most of the troops stationed there, leaving only fifty soldiers behind. On the 5th of December he set out with three companies of the ninety-fourth, altogether two hundred and fifty-seven officers and men, and a train of thirty-four waggons conveying camp equipage, ammunition, and provisions. No precautions were taken against surprise, except that some of the troops marched on each side of the waggons and some formed a rearguard. Only a single scout was sent on in advance to see that the road was clear, although Colonel Anstruther received a communication on the way from Colonel Bellairs, who commanded in the Transvaal, informing him of Commandant Joubert's movements, and advising him to be cautious. On the

14th he passed through Middelburg, where he was informed of what was taking place at Paardekraal, and a little after two o'clock in the afternoon of the 20th was close to the point where Bronkhorst Spruit crosses the road about thirty-eight miles or sixty-one kilometres from Pretoria. Colonel Anstruther and Conductor Ralph Egerton were riding in advance, the regimental band was playing, and a company of soldiers was marching in front of the waggons, when suddenly Joubert's commando from two to three hundred strong was seen at less than two hundred and fifty metres distance on the left on the crest of a swell in the ground. The band ceased playing and the column halted at once.

A farmer, Paul de Beer by name, approached with a white flag, and presented a letter written in English, requiring the colonel to go no farther. After it was read, De Beer gave him two minutes in which to decide, when he replied that he would obey his orders to go to Pretoria. The farmer then rode back, and immediately a volley was poured in with deadly effect. It was returned by the soldiers who were unwounded, and for ten to twenty minutes firing on both sides continued, when so many soldiers had fallen that Colonel Anstruther, who was very severely wounded, directed Mr. Egerton, the transport conductor, to show a white flag, and surrendered. Four officers and sixty-two men had been killed, and four officers and eighty-six men had been wounded. Only one officer—Captain Elliott—and Mr. Egerton, the transport conductor, remained unhurt. Mr. Egerton and a sergeant were permitted to walk on to Pretoria to obtain medical aid for the wounded, and they reached that town before daylight the following morning. Mr. Egerton took with him the regimental colours, which were thus saved. Aid was promptly sent, and a hospital was improvised at Bronkhorst Spruit, from which the men were sent to Heidelberg as they recovered. The unwounded prisoners were first sent to Heidelberg, and

then released on their parole not to serve against the republic in future. They were conducted to the Free State side of the Vaal river, and were there liberated and left to find their way as best they could to Natal. There were three women and two children with the troops, and of these one woman, the wife of Sergeant-Major Fox, and one child were wounded. On the farmers' side only two men were killed and four wounded, the great disparity between these numbers and those on the other side being accounted for by them as due to the righteousness of their cause, but by English chroniclers to the accuracy of their firing, to their knowledge of the exact distance, and to their being sheltered by bushes. The rifles and ammunition obtained on this occasion were regarded by the farmers as the most valuable part of the booty, though the tents and other camp equipage came in also useful to them.

Sir George Colley, the commander-in-chief, was in Natal when tidings reached him that the farmers of the Transvaal had risen in a body, and that the English residents had retired to the seven garrisoned towns,—Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, Marabastad, Lydenburg, Marthinus-Wesselstroom, and Standerton,—which were closely besieged. He too altogether underestimated the military qualities of the men he had to deal with, and as drafts of recruits for the regiments in South Africa had just arrived and a naval brigade of one hundred and five men was obtained from her Majesty's ship *Boadicea*, he collected all the forces available for the relief of the beleaguered garrisons, with which he formed a fortified camp at a place called Mount Prospect, about three miles and a half or five kilometres and three-fifths from the pass called Lang's Nek in the Drakensberg. Commandant-General Pieter Joubert with three or four hundred men occupied the crest of the pass, which was a very strong position and had been made easy to defend by the construction of breastworks along it.

In the morning of the 28th of January 1881 Major-General Colley, leaving two hundred and sixty men to guard his camp, marched from Mount Prospect with five companies of the fifty-eighth regiment, fifteen officers and four hundred and seventy-nine men, five companies of the third battalion of the sixtieth rifles, thirteen officers and three hundred and twenty-one men, one hundred and eighty-five cavalry, eighty-eight men of the naval brigade, and a few artillerymen, to attempt to force his way through the pass. He had six field guns and two rocket tubes, with which he shelled the pass, inflicting considerable damage upon his opponents. He then attempted to charge up the long slope to the summit, but was met by a deadly storm of bullets from the rifles of the farmers under cover above, and though the troops pressed bravely on, the cavalry actually reaching the summit and engaging in a hand to hand contest, so many fell that the whole force was soon obliged to retreat. They left on the mountain side seven officers and seventy-six men dead and one hundred and eleven wounded, fully one-sixth of their whole number. The fifty-eighth suffered most. Colonel Bonar Deane, who commanded it temporarily, and most of the other officers were killed. On the farmers' side fourteen men were killed and twenty-seven wounded.

General Colley retreated to his camp at Mount Prospect, where he resolved to wait until reinforcements could reach him from oversea. But a few days later he learned that a party of farmers was between him and Newcastle, and that his communications with Maritzburg were being cut off. To prevent this, on the 8th of February he left Mount Prospect with five companies of the third battalion of the sixtieth rifles, under Lieutenant-Colonel Ashburnham, thirty-eight mounted men, and four field guns, and after a march of five miles or eight kilometres reached the Ingogo river where it crosses the road between his camp and Newcastle. Leaving a small

detachment of his force here with two guns, he crossed the river to a small plateau called Schuins Hoogte on the opposite bank. Here he was confronted by a party of farmers according to their own account nearly two hundred strong, under Commandant Nicolaas Smit, and at noon an action commenced, which lasted until evening set in. The farmers were careful not to expose themselves, but took cover behind boulders that were thickly strewn on the plateau, and after a very short time the soldiers followed their example.

Night fell gloomily, with occasional heavy showers of rain. The farmers had retired to seek shelter in houses at no great distance, and at nine o'clock Sir George Colley, who was without provisions, set out with what was left of his force to return to Mount Prospect. On the plateau lay the dead bodies of seven officers and sixty-nine men, and three officers and sixty-four men who were too severely wounded to be able to walk were of necessity left behind. It is seldom indeed that the casualties in a battle are so large in proportion to the number engaged. The farmers stated their loss as eight killed and six wounded.

To Sir George Colley there seemed to be now a reasonable chance of getting possession of Lang's Nek before the arrival of a successor who, he felt sure, would be sent from England to supersede him. Already Sir Evelyn Wood had reached Natal as second in command of the troops, and strong reinforcements were at his disposal. On the 25th of January the second battalion of the sixtieth rifles and the fifteenth regiment of hussars landed at Durban from India, on the 30th of January the eighty-third and ninety-second regiments, also from India, landed at the same place, and were followed on the 4th of February by the ninety-seventh from Gibraltar. A number of engineers and artillerymen with field guns had also arrived, and the naval brigade had been considerably strengthened.

Beside the farmers' camp at Lang's Nek rose a mountain peak called Majuba, and its basin-like summit was accessible by means of a ridge that ran down near Mount Prospect. If that was occupied the Nek would be commanded, and the farmers would be obliged to withdraw. During the night of the 26th of February General Colley with two companies of the fifty-eighth, two companies of the third battalion of the sixtieth rifles, three companies of the ninety-second highlanders, and a detachment of the naval brigade, thirty-five officers and six hundred and ninety-three men in all, made his way up the mountain with great difficulty, in some places the men being obliged to scramble up on their hands and knees, and leaving two pickets on the slope, managed to reach the summit a little before daybreak. At dawn on Sunday the 27th the farmers two thousand feet below observed some of the soldiers on the top of Majuba, and at once realised that their position would be untenable unless the mountain could be taken by storm. For that kind of warfare they had never regarded themselves as qualified, but on this occasion they were moved—by divine guidance they afterwards said—to make the attempt.

Led by Commandant Nicolaas Smit, a party of volunteers, most of them men who had fled from Sekukuni's stronghold when President Burgers was at their head, commenced to make their way up the mountain in three different places, creeping up from boulder to boulder without receiving harm from the fire above, until a little after midday seventy or eighty of them reached the rim of the hollow crest. Full of enthusiasm, and believing firmly that God was guiding them, they pressed on to an encounter with the troops, who had not recovered from the fatigue and want of sleep of the preceding night. The combat lasted from ten to twenty minutes, and then, as more farmers appeared at different points, the troops were seized with panic, and attempted to escape by the way they had gone up in the night. Sir

George Colley, who tried to rally them, was killed at the place where the last stand was made. Commander Romilly, the leader of the naval brigade, was mortally wounded, so that both branches of the service were without heads. The farmers fired upon the fugitives, but disarmed and made prisoners of as many as chose to surrender. Six officers and eighty-six men were killed, nine officers and one hundred and twenty-five men were wounded, and six officers and fifty-three men became prisoners. Only two farmers were killed and four were wounded.

Major-General Sir Evelyn Wood succeeded Sir George Colley as commander-in-chief, administrator of Natal, and acting high commissioner. Further reinforcements of troops were on their way to South Africa, but Mr. Gladstone's cabinet was anxious to avoid a continuation of hostilities, which under no circumstances could redound to Great Britain's credit. There are two ways of looking at this question. One way is to consider it necessary to England's honour that opposition to her authority should be crushed by force of arms, and the reverses sustained be avenged. If the twelve thousand soldiers either in South Africa or on the way out were insufficient for this, and Sir Frederick Roberts, who had been appointed to command them, should ask for more, that number should be doubled, or if necessary trebled. The other way is to regard England's honour as dependent not on the employment of military strength against a feeble opponent, but on following the principles of righteousness and justice. A man may consider that he can make better use of his neighbour's money than that neighbour is making of it, but that opinion would not justify him in taking it by force. And so with the Transvaal. Great Britain might believe she could govern it better than its own people, but was she therefore justified in forcing her rule upon them by means of her vastly superior strength?

Mr. Gladstone looked at the matter from the latter standpoint, but he was in a most unpleasant position. A division in the house of commons had just shown that only one-third of the members were in favour of restoring the independence of the Transvaal, and in the great liberal party, of which he was the head, its strongest opponents were found, the men who still believed, despite all evidence to the contrary, that the farmers were ruthless oppressors of coloured people. It was beyond his power to restore unqualified independence, much as at heart he may have been disposed to do so. The outbreak of war had shown him how deceived he had been by representations from the Transvaal administration that the great body of the farmers was becoming reconciled to British authority, and that agitation was kept up solely by a few ambitious men. He knew now that only a very small minority favoured British rule, and other circumstances were also perplexing him.

In Holland naturally very strong sympathy was felt with the Transvaal people. A petition to the British authorities in favour of the restoration of their independence was signed by seven thousand men of position, and conveyed to England by an influential deputation. Of all the countries of Europe, Holland is the one that it is most to England's interest to conciliate, and this petition therefore could not be disregarded, though it was impossible fully to comply with it.

President Brand was doing his utmost to keep the Orange Free State out of the contest, and had induced the volksraad to pass a resolution of neutrality, but some of the burghers in their strong sympathy with their kinsmen had taken the field, and many others could not be prevented from doing so much longer. In the Cape Colony too the strain upon the loyalty to England of many thousands of men and women was very great, for the Dutch-speaking section of the population was not

alone in holding that the people of the Transvaal territory had a right to independence if they wished it. President Brand therefore, dreading a war of races, offered his services to the British authorities as a mediator, and begged for peace.

On the 8th of February Earl Kimberley, in reply to the president's offer, sent a telegraphic message to Sir George Colley that if the farmers would cease from armed opposition, a scheme would be framed for the settlement of difficulties, but gave no intimation what the nature of the scheme would be. This was communicated to the triumvirate, and on the 13th of February Mr. Kruger replied to General Colley that nothing more was wanted than the cancellation of Sir Theophilus Shepstone's proclamation, but he offered to submit the details of the retrocession to a royal commission. It is evident that he did not realise the impossibility of Mr. Gladstone's acting as he wished.

The triumvirate and those they represented were fully cognisant of the enormous power of Great Britain, but they believed firmly that God was helping them, and would continue to do so as long as they fought for nothing but right. Or if it was His will that they should be punished for their sins and that a British army should subject their country, when resistance failed many of them had resolved to burn every building, to lay the land utterly waste, and to retire farther into the interior. The women particularly were determined upon this, and in the race of the sea beggars woman's influence is strong. Whether one feels inclined to condemn or to praise them for this, it is indisputable that they were not degenerate kinsmen of those Netherlanders who cut their dikes and flooded the richest part of their country rather than see their foes in possession of it.

President Brand, however, was able to get the Transvaal leaders to comprehend the condition of things

in England and to accept the best terms that could be obtained, looking to the future for more complete redress. With his assistance an armistice was concluded on the 6th of March 1881 between Sir Evelyn Wood and Commandant-General Pieter Joubert, to enable them to discuss terms of peace. At this time not one of the seven towns—Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, Marabastad, Marthinus-Wesselstroom, Standerton, and Lydenburg—in which there were garrisons of British soldiers and volunteers, had been taken by the farmers, though they had all been closely invested, and in some of them there had been severe fighting. One of the conditions of the armistice was that General Wood should be at liberty to supply each of the garrisons with provisions for as many days as the armistice should last, and this was done with all except Potchefstroom. It was afterwards made a charge against Commandant Cronjé that he had not communicated the intelligence to Colonel Winsloe, who was in such desperate circumstances for want of food that on the 21st of March he was obliged to surrender.

The discussion concerning terms of peace lasted until the 21st of March, and though some of the conditions were very objectionable to the Transvaal representatives, they were induced to consent to them, as the alternative was renewal of war, and nearly every week brought more troops to oppose them. In February the sixth dragoons arrived, in the middle of March the fourteenth hussars landed at Durban, and before the end of the month were followed by the forty-first and eighty-fifth regiments of the line. On the 1st of April the seventh hussars were added to the force, and a very large number of artillerymen, engineers, and other branches of the service, with horses, mules, and vast quantities of munitions of war of all kinds had reached Natal. So on the 21st and 23rd of March conditions of peace were signed, and it was arranged that royal

commissioners should be appointed, who should confer with the Transvaal representatives, and draw up a new convention. The burghers then returned to their homes, and peaceful occupations were resumed. Sir Frederick Roberts on his arrival at Capetown found instructions awaiting him to return to England at once, and left in the mail steamer the next day. The hundred and second regiment arrived, but did not disembark, and returned immediately.

The commissioners appointed by the British government were Sir Hercules Robinson, Sir Evelyn Wood, and Sir Henry de Villiers, chief justice of the Cape Colony. On the 30th of April 1881 Sir Hercules Robinson, the chairman of the commission, proceeded from Capetown for Natal on this duty, leaving Lieutenant-General Sir Leicester Smyth to act as administrator of the government of the Cape Colony during his absence. Sir Evelyn Wood and Sir Henry de Villiers met at Newcastle on the 29th of April, where on the 10th of May Sir Hercules Robinson joined them. The commission met first on a farm close to Newcastle, and thereafter in the village until some of the terms were arranged, when it proceeded to Pretoria, and on the 14th of June resumed its duties there. Its deliberations were necessarily slow, because a great number of points had to be considered, and when each had been discussed the resolution arrived at was submitted to the triumvirate representing the Transvaal, and their remarks upon it were then obtained. It was not a conference between two parties of equal authority, but a meeting of a commission representing one party appointed to decide upon the fate of the other. Its desire was to obtain the approval of its decisions by the other party, but it had power to act without that.

There were frequent references to the secretary of state for the colonies in London, who had to decide upon what public opinion in England would allow him to grant, which in many instances was not what the triumvirate

were disposed to accept. The arrangement regarding the Batlapin and Barolong tribes alone took up a great deal of time. Earl Kimberley felt bound in honour to maintain the independence of Mankoroane and especially of Montsiwa, who had given protection to a number of refugees during the war, and the triumvirate pointed out that the consequence could only be constant war with other Betschuana. On this point Earl Kimberley was firm, and the triumvirate could only submit.

So time passed away in debate until at last on the 3rd of August 1881 a document termed the convention of Pretoria was signed. It contained thirty-three articles, providing for the self-government, under certain conditions, of the European inhabitants of a territory whose boundaries were defined, and which, though it embraced land far beyond the Keate award line, was much smaller in extent than the old republic. It was to be under the suzerainty of her Majesty the queen of England, who was to have the right of appointing a resident, of moving troops through the country in time of war, and of controlling all the external relations of the state. The resident, besides other duties, was to guard the interests of the Bantu inhabitants, and no legislation affecting these people was to be in force until approved of by her Majesty's government. The Transvaal state was made liable for the debt of the old republic, amounting to £155,667, for the expense incurred by the British government in carrying on the civil administration from 1877 to 1881, amounting to £127,000, and for certain sums which would be advanced to meet legal claims for compensation, that were afterwards found to amount to £143,225. The government, under these and other less important conditions, was to be transferred to the triumvirate on the 8th of August 1881, and the convention was to be ratified by a duly elected volksraad within three months after that date, otherwise it was to be null and void.

It is impossible to see in what respect a state created by such a convention could be regarded as more independent

than a self-governing colony of the British empire. However, Messrs. Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert signed the document, and on the 8th of August the government was transferred to them by Sir Hercules Robinson, the chairman of the royal commission, the other members being with him. Sir Hercules, in presence of a large assemblage of Europeans and Bantu, formally annulled Sir Theophilus Shepstone's proclamation annexing the country to the British dominions, and delivered an address explaining the new condition of affairs.

A volksraad was elected, and on the 21st of September 1881 met at Pretoria, but for some time it was doubtful whether the convention would be ratified. The members realised that if they approved of it they could no longer appeal to the Sand River convention, which they held to be still morally and legally in force, as they had never consented to its abolition. The condition of things which that document laid down was what they wanted and what they believed they had a right to, not such shackled privileges as were described in this convention of Pretoria.

But it was clearly explained to them by the triumvirate that their only choice was that or the renewal of war with Great Britain, for a preponderance of public opinion in England would not allow Mr. Gladstone to consent to entire independence. How could they tempt Providence then by renewing a war which they had no means of carrying on, and in which they would not have the strong sympathy of their kinsmen in other parts of South Africa, who were all of opinion that they should accept these terms as the best they could hope to obtain? The volksraad then yielded, and on the 25th of October 1881 the convention was formally ratified, but to say that it was approved of would be incorrect.

CHAPTER XX.

THE TRANSVAAL FROM 1881 TO THE CONVENTION OF LONDON IN 1884.

THE Englishmen who had gone to live in the Transvaal territory between 1877 and 1881, or who had invested money there, were loud in denunciation of the imperial government for having abandoned them, and declared they would never be satisfied until British rule was restored. Many of them left the country altogether. The union jack was ceremoniously buried at Pretoria with demonstrations of grief, but on the epitaph was the significant word *Resurgam*, which clearly expressed the hope of the mourners. Unjustifiable acts, or what appeared as such, committed by some farmers during the period of hostilities were noised abroad, and among these was the murder of a British officer, Captain Elliott, who had been made a prisoner of war and released on parole, but was shot dead when attempting to cross the Vaal river. Two men who were charged with having committed this crime were brought to trial before the supreme court, but were acquitted by the jury. This, however, did not put an end to the clamour, it only changed the accusation to corruption of Transvaal courts of law.

On the other hand the farmers chafed under the restrictions imposed upon their government, especially the vague power of suzerainty, which might mean anything or nothing according as Great Britain might choose to interpret it. Their view of the matter may be given, as it was once placed before the author of this volume, in the following

simile, which does not differ in meaning from President Kruger's illustrations :

"If you were ill and weak, and a very strong man were to knock you down, and take from you your watch, and purse, and clothing, leaving you naked, and afterwards offered you your clothing again, would you accept it?"

"I think I should; that would be better than to remain naked."

"But would you be satisfied until your watch and purse were also restored?"

"No, I should not be."

"Well, that is exactly our case. In taking from us our independence, Great Britain took all that we valued: clothing, and purse, and watch; now Mr. Gladstone has returned the clothing, but we have not got the purse or the watch, and therefore we are dissatisfied still."

When people who have dealings with each other are in these frames of mind matters cannot go on smoothly between them. The position of the British resident—Mr. George Hudson—under any circumstances a most delicate one, was a thorn in the side of the administration, which felt itself hampered in a way and to an extent that no ministry in any self-governing colony is ever subject to. The state of warfare beyond the western border was also causing much trouble. The farmers in the territory cut off by the convention of Pretoria were theoretically under the rule of Bantu and Korana chiefs, but in practice any attempt to interfere with them was at once resisted, and in such events those within the border could not be restrained from assisting those without. The chiefs there were quarrelling among themselves, renegade white men living with them were constantly fomenting trouble, crimes of the greatest magnitude remained unpunished, and thus all was unrest and confusion.

The western boundary line was surveyed and beacons off for the British government by Lieutenant-Colonel Charles J. Moysey, of the royal engineers, in accordance with

the terms of the convention, but it failed to give satisfaction to the whole of the Betschuana. To people whose government had always been tribal, not territorial, boundaries, no matter where made, could not fail to give offence. The out-stations of three or four clans might be so mixed that each would have people living on different sides of a strip of territory, and this could not be divided to suit them all. The new Transvaal boundary therefore was from the time of its being laid down a cause of discord and strife.

In other respects matters went on smoother after the transfer of the administration to the triumvirate. Mr. W. Eduard Bok became the state secretary instead of Mr. George Hudson, who was appointed British resident, and there were some changes in the other departments, owing to the resignation of English officials. The executive and legislative councils under the British administration of course disappeared, regretted by no one.

On the 21st of September, when the volksraad assembled, an address by the triumvirate was delivered, in which an account of recent events was given, and it was stated that some fifty burghers had lost their lives in the struggle. Mention was also made of a burgher named Ras, who had displayed great inventive ability in the construction of two good cannons.

The administration was carried on by the triumvirate until 1883, when an election for a president took place. There were only two candidates, Mr. Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger and Mr. Petrus Jacobus Joubert, and as many of the burghers were indifferent as to which of them should be elected, they did not take the trouble to vote. The result was officially declared on the 16th of April 1883, when it was announced that only four thousand six hundred and two votes in all had been recorded, of which three thousand four hundred and thirty-one were for Mr. Kruger and one thousand one hundred and seventy-one for Mr. Joubert. On the 8th of May the volksraad

met, when Mr. Kruger took the oath of office as president. Mr. Joubert remained commandant-general.

There was a grievous debt for so small a state, the interest on which was a heavy burden upon the treasury, and there had not been time to get everything in perfect order, when an event occurred which compelled the government to undertake a costly war with a powerful Bantu tribe. When Sekukuni was captured and sent as a prisoner to Pretoria, Sir Garnet Wolseley appointed his half-brother Mampuru principal chief of the Bapedi, but subject to the Transvaal government like all the other heads of clans of the tribe. Between Sekukuni and Mampuru there had long been a feud, and when this is the case between brothers it is almost invariably carried on with great animosity. Mampuru had been obliged to flee from the Bapedi country, and take refuge in Swaziland, where according to the general Bantu custom he was protected by Umbandeni the chief. Sir Garnet Wolseley thought to create a rival power in the district, which would facilitate keeping Sekukuni's people in check, and so he invited Mampuru to return. This chief had a considerable number of adherents, though they were not so strong or so many as his brother's party, even after its defeat. Between these two factions there was ceaseless strife, but open war was prevented by the Transvaal government.

By the twenty-third article of the convention of Pretoria Sekukuni was set at liberty. His people were rejoiced to receive him again, and Mampuru's faction became even more hostile than before. Early in May 1882 it became necessary for the government to take proceedings against Mampuru, who was conducting himself in a seditious manner and openly refused to pay the hut-tax. A commando was called out for the purpose of compelling him to submit, but upon its approach he concealed himself and could not be found. He was then proclaimed deposed from his chieftainship, and a man named Magosi was

appointed in his stead. But the clan, though it made no open protest, declined to submit to Magosi, and as soon as the commando retired the fugitive returned and resumed his authority.

During the night of the 13th of August 1882 Mampuru fell by surprise upon Sekukuni, murdered him, one of his sons, and thirteen of his followers, and then burnt his kraal and drove off his cattle. He knew of course that this was an act that could not be overlooked by the government, so he and his retainers immediately abandoned their location and sought refuge with a chief named Mareshane, who was a vassal of the powerful community called by the Transvaal people the tribe of Mapoch. This was one of the composite tribes of recent formation, and had upon the whole more affinity with the Zulus than with the Bapedi or other people of the interior. Many of its members were Baputi by origin, that is they were of the original stock from which the ancestors of Morosi's clan had parted in days gone by. The tribe was much more warlike than the Bapedi, and it occupied the most difficult locality in all South Africa for Europeans to operate in. It was a succession of hills with precipitous sides, and abounding in caverns, some of unknown extent to the nearest farmers, within which large bodies of people could conceal themselves. The valleys between the hills were not extensive, but were fertile, and it was believed that the tribe had large quantities of grain stored up in the caverns. The locality was on the eastern side of the Transvaal, and only a short distance from the town of Middelburg. The old chief Mapoch had recently died, and his son, who was called Njabel by the Europeans, was now the head of the tribe.

Under the Pretoria convention it was necessary for the boundaries of every Bantu location in the republic to be clearly defined and marked with beacons by a commission of three members, of which the British

resident was to be one, and the commission now proceeded to Njabel's locality for the purpose of carrying out its duty. When informed of the object of the visit the chief declared that he would not permit beacons to be erected anywhere in his neighbourhood, nor did he intend to pay hut-tax or admit dependence upon the government at Pretoria in any way. Mr. Hudson attempted to point out to him the impropriety of his conduct, but met with only abuse and insult. When requested also by a Transvaal official to surrender Mampuru, he refused in the most determined manner to do so.

There was thus no alternative to compelling him by force to submit, but it was with the greatest reluctance that the government called out a commando. It was fully realised that the struggle would be a long and difficult one, owing to the nature of the district and the fact that Sir Garnet Wolseley's plan of storming the principal strongholds could not be carried out in this case, because the republic could not afford to risk the lives of its fighting men as he had done. The cost too would be very great, for though the burghers would receive no pay, food and all the material needed in war would have to be provided at the public expense. Sir Garnet Wolseley's successful expedition against Sekukuni had cost the British treasury £383,000, an amount altogether beyond the power of the republic to expend upon any military adventure whatever, but which showed the necessity of using the utmost caution. Then too nothing short of absolute and complete victory would suffice, as upon the result of the campaign would largely depend the supremacy of the European race in South Africa. As several newspapers outside the republic pointed out, such another disastrous event as the failure of the Cape Colony to suppress rebellion in Basutoland would certainly ruin the prestige of the white man in all parts of the country.

On the 30th of October 1882 two thousand burghers who had been called out and had assembled at Middelburg marched from that town under Commandant-General Pieter Joubert to reduce Njabel to submission. It was found that he had strongly fortified the salient points of his position, and in particular two hills named by the farmers Boschkop and Vlugtkraal had been made almost impregnable. General Joubert and the council of war therefore resolved to surround the place with a chain of easily constructed earthen forts, to prevent all ingress or egress by constantly patrolling between them, and to close in whenever possible without running great risks. The Bapedi who had been adherents of Sekukuni, feeling it to be their duty to avenge the murder of their late chief, joined the commando, and did good service as scouts. Sometimes the besieged would make sorties, and at other times the burghers would press in too closely, when combats would necessarily take place, in which loss of life was sustained on both sides. On the 24th of November Commandant Senekal, of Rustenburg, was killed, and several others fell about the same time. The line of forts was continually being drawn closer in, and many of Njabel's people had retired to caverns, from which the men would dash out whenever they saw a chance of doing damage to the besiegers.

It became necessary therefore to destroy the entrances of as many of these places as could be got at, and dynamite was used for the purpose. Mr. Nelmapius, who had obtained a concession from the government of a monopoly for the manufacture of spirits and who had established what was known as the Eerste Fabriek or First Factory, near Pretoria, took charge of these operations. He thoroughly understood what he was about, and the explosions of dynamite not only destroyed some of the caverns, but struck such terror into the enemy that they began to ask for peace. On the 19th of December five of Njabel's subordinate captains with

their people came out and surrendered. They were disarmed, and as they were not of much importance they were then permitted to go where they pleased. On the 2nd of January 1883 there was some skirmishing, when Boschberg was taken by the burghers. The enemy believed it was about to be blown up by dynamite, and in their fear failed to defend it as they might easily have done. On the 26th of February they abandoned Vlugtkraal in a panic, and General Joubert was able to take possession of that stronghold without firing a single shot. Two days later the commando sustained a loss that was much regretted in the death of Fieldcornet Stephanus Roos, of Pretoria, one of its ablest officers, who was shot by an unseen enemy inside a cavern. On the 8th of April the most important of Njabel's sub-chiefs, who was called Tappis by the burghers, surrendered.

Njabel sent again and again to ask for terms of peace, to which General Joubert invariably replied that he must surrender unconditionally. This he would not do, and so the long struggle went on. Every two months the burghers in the field were relieved by others, so that a force of from fifteen hundred to two thousand men, besides the Bantu allies, was constantly acting. It was a very severe strain upon the resources of the republic, but the government and the people alike felt that it had to be borne.

At length, after eight months of watching and waiting, with occasional fighting, and patient endurance of toil and hardships, the end in view was attained. On the 8th of July 1883 Mampuru was delivered a prisoner to General Joubert. Njabel sent him in with his hands tied behind his back, in hope of obtaining peace for himself. But the general was inexorable. The rebel chief must surrender unconditionally, or the pressure upon him would continue. Next day five of his most important captains abandoned his cause, and tendered

their submission, which was accepted, and their arms were taken from them. Then, on the 10th of July 1883, Njabel, who could hold out no longer, with eight thousand of his people came in and gave himself up.

He was put upon his trial before the supreme court for rebellion, and on the 22nd of September 1883 was sentenced to death. But the British government interested itself on his behalf, considering the sentence too severe, and General Joubert, who was acting as head of the state during President Kruger's absence in Europe, commuted it into imprisonment for life. Mareshane, who first gave protection to Mampuru, was tried for causing a tumult, and on the 23rd of January 1884 was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, but without hard labour. The tribe was completely broken up and dispersed, so that there could be no question as to its utter defeat.

Mampuru was put upon his trial at the same time as Njabel, but in his case a charge of wilful murder was added to that of rebellion. He was found guilty, and was condemned to be hanged, which sentence was carried out on the 22nd of November 1883 in the prison at Pretoria.

In the session of the volksraad in 1883 a resolution was carried which to many outsiders savoured strongly of ingratitude. On the 13th of July Dr. Jorissen, the state attorney, was deprived of office on the ground that he did not possess the requisite legal qualifications, and no adequate compensation was offered to him. This was assuredly very unjust treatment of a man who had performed eminent services for the republic. Dr. W. J. Leyds (LL.D.), whose name was destined at a later date to be widely known, was appointed to the vacant office.

The system of granting concessions of monopolies was carried out by the government to almost as great an extent as it had been in the worst days of the East India Company. Its advocates believed that it would

foster the establishment of factories that would relieve the republic of dependence upon foreign countries for many articles of common use, but it really had hardly any effect of this kind, and it caused much discontent, especially among the English residents in the towns and villages.

At this time there was general depression throughout South Africa, owing to a long and severe drought which prevented agricultural operations from being conducted and caused the death of great numbers of domestic animals of all kinds. Trade seemed paralysed throughout the country, and only along the railway lines could traffic be carried on. As there were no railways as yet in the Transvaal or the Orange Free State, in those territories the difficulty of moving about was even greater than in the Cape Colony or Natal. To add to the general distress, the largest falls of reef ever known in the Kimberley mine took place, and put an end to diamond seeking by individuals and small companies there. The men thus thrown out of employment were obliged to look for something to do in other places, and fortunately for them an opening was found in the Lydenburg district of the Transvaal.

The goldfields first discovered at Macmac and Pilgrims' Rest had ceased to attract adventurers, but early in 1882 some prospectors found many and large nuggets at the place since widely known as De Kaap, and men from all parts of South Africa at once made their way to that locality. A few were very successful, many barely made a living, and many more did not even do that, but though the prizes were few, as in a lottery, they drew adventurers in considerable numbers to strive for them. In the following year, 1883, quartz reefs containing in some parts gold in larger quantities than known anywhere else in the world were discovered on a farm belonging to Mr. George Pigot Moodie, a land surveyor resident in the Transvaal. Immediately there were parties

of men on all the paths leading to Moodie's, and the wonderful reefs became the subject of speculation in mining circles in Europe and America. There was some alluvial gold found here too, but not in large quantities.

Gold mining at Moodie's consequently was different from that at the other fields, and could not be carried on by individual diggers, because it required machinery for crushing the quartz. Such stamps as are now in common use were then unknown, and even if they had been, they could not have been conveyed there owing to the want of roads. Crude stamps, on the principle of pile-driving weights, were, however, manufactured on the spot by sheathing with iron huge blocks of wood cut from the trunks of trees, and with these quartz was crushed. It was a slow process, but so rich was the quartz in places that large fortunes were realised by some of the companies. These mines were eclipsed at a later date by the world-famed Witwatersrand, where the brothers Struben were then prospecting, but that locality only attracted attention after June 1885, when Mr. H. Struben exhibited rich specimens of conglomerate taken from a reef containing gold. This soon caused the Lydenburg mines to be almost forgotten, but they have been turning out gold in large quantities to the present day. Before the close of 1884 rough roads were made, along which it became possible to transport heavy machinery, though at great expense, and gold mining then became a settled industry.

The easiest way to get to these fields from the Cape Colony or Natal as well as from Europe or America was by sea to Delagoa Bay, and then by waggon or cart or, as many hardy individuals performed the journey, on foot. Of the two great obstacles to the use of that road in former times, the tsetse and fever, the former was not now existent. The large game had been slaughtered by hunters, and then the tsetse disappeared. Fever was still prevalent at all seasons of the year

in the wide belt of swampy country that had to be passed through, and particularly in the hot months it was rife until the Lebombo range was reached, but the gold seekers did not let that keep them back. Several died along the road, where there was no other accommodation than an occasional hut occupied by an Indian trader who sold groceries at exorbitant prices and allowed a traveller to sleep among his wares on payment of a couple of shillings. Most of them, however, reached the goldfields, and set to work with a will. With those who succeeded in finding gold to the value of thirty shillings a day, or above that amount, all went well, and they had no fault to find, but those who were less fortunate were loud in their complaints of the government and of the owners of the farms, whom they accused of extortion and of putting obstacles of various kinds in their way. Thus there was a class of discontented and disaffected men to be dealt with, which must be set in the balance against the additional revenue that the goldfields contributed to the treasury of the republic.

The project of President Burgers for the construction of a railway to Delagoa Bay was now recalled, and steps were taken to carry it into execution as speedily as possible. It would necessarily be in two sections, one in the Portuguese territory and the other in the Transvaal. There was no difficulty in arranging matters with the authorities in Lisbon, who agreed to most liberal terms as to the landing and forwarding of goods and passengers, the amount of customs duties, and all other matters. In January 1884 they also granted a concession to a gentleman who formed a company in London to construct a railway from Lourenço Marques to Komati Poort on the boundary of the South African Republic. It was necessary that this section should be completed before the one in the Transvaal, that the sleepers and rails as well as the rolling stock might be conveyed inland by it. It was therefore some years later when the line from Pretoria

to Komati Poort was taken in hand by a company in which the government of the republic was the largest shareholder.

In the territory north of the Vaal river that had been cut off from the South African Republic by the Keate award, confusion and strife were constant. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Warren was instructed by the high commissioner to endeavour to lay down boundary lines between the contending clans and induce them to live in peace with each other, and from the 27th of October to the end of December 1878 he was engaged in this duty. He took about a thousand guns from different unruly clans, and believed that he had succeeded in restoring order, but as was afterwards seen, it was not lasting. On this occasion all the chiefs of any note in the territory south of the Molopo expressed a desire to become British subjects.

On the 13th of November 1877 and again on the 13th of May 1878 Sir Bartle Frere recommended the imperial authorities to annex to the British dominions the whole territory south of the Portuguese boundary from the Atlantic ocean to the Transvaal border, and if his advice had been acted upon, though the expenditure would doubtless have been considerable, a vast amount of treasure would have been saved, as can now be seen. It was, however, quite unheeded.

In October 1878 one hundred and twenty farmers who had been cut off from the Transvaal by the Keate award sent a petition to the high commissioner that they might be reannexed, but it was not considered advisable to comply with their request. They and all other Europeans in the territory between the Kalahari desert and the Keate award line were then supposed to be living under the jurisdiction of Bantu or Korana chiefs, who were quarrelling with each other about the ownership of almost every square metre of ground. As a general rule, however, they did not venture to interfere in any way with the

white people, who would certainly have resisted had they done so.

Botlasitsi, son of Gasibone, the highest in rank of the Batlapin chiefs, was the one who gave the most trouble. He had a substantial grievance in part of his ground having been included in Griqualand West, where it was regarded and disposed of as crown land, and he resented the acknowledgment by the British authorities of Mankoroane, who had a larger following, as his superior. He was openly at war with Griqualand West, as has been related in another chapter. The difficulty with him was brought to an end by Colonel Warren, who through Mankoroane's agency on the 25th of November 1878 made prisoners of him, two of his sons, and one of his brothers, just after they left a cave near Taung where they had their head-quarters. They were sent to Kimberley, where Botlasitsi remained in prison until the 31st of May 1880. He was a ruffian by disposition, and though he was certainly wronged by the Keate award, no pity need be felt for him.

In 1878 a tract of land was ceded by a Batlapin chief to Colonel Warren to be disposed of as he might see fit, but the lefthanded clan of the Koranas occupied it at the time, and they refused to acknowledge the transaction. It was considered necessary to reduce them to obedience and to disarm them, for which purpose on the 29th of January 1879 Colonel Warren sent Major Rolleston with a force of forty men to their kraal, and demanded their guns. They preferred to fight for their possession, and in the skirmish that took place one white man was killed and another was wounded, and two Koranas were killed. The Koranas then submitted, and fifty guns were taken from them.

A rough estimate of the number of individuals composing the Barolong, Batlapin, Batlaro, and Korana clans south of the Molopo was made early in 1880 by Captain J. W. Harrel, who was sent to inspect that part of Betschuana-

land and report upon the condition of the people. In his report, dated 27th of April 1880 he estimated the number of the Barolong acknowledging the chieftainship of Montsiwa, whose principal kraal was at Sehuba, at 12,500, those under Moshete, at Kunana, at 2,500, those under Bonakwane, at Morokwane, at 10,000, those under Makobi, at Pitsani, at 2,500, and those under Matlabe, at Polfontein, at 5,000. The Batlapin under Mankoroane, at Taung, he estimated at 12,500, and those under Mairi and Matlabane, at Monte and Pokwane, at 7,500. The Batlaro under Bareki, at Honing Vlei, he estimated at 10,000, and the Koranas under Massou, at Mamusa, at 5,000. The total number of people living between the Molopo on the north, the Orange and Vaal rivers on the south, the Kalahari desert on the west, and the Keate award line on the east, Griqualand West excluded, he estimated at sixty-seven thousand five hundred, all told.

The Massou here mentioned as chief of the Koranas at Mamusa was a son of the old chief Massou Riet Taaibosch, who died at a very advanced age on the 11th of June 1878.

The chiefs named in Captain Harrel's list were those who were independent of each other. Subject to them were a large number of petty captains, among whom feuds were constant, independent of the strife between the paramount chiefs. Nothing but a strong ruling power could have restored order among them, and Great Britain was not then disposed to assert her sovereignty over Betschuanaland. A state of things was, however, rapidly forming which would compel her to do so. Among all the chiefs Montsiwa—the fountain of lies (Motshelle oa Maaka) as the others termed him—was the one that the British authorities in South Africa regarded with most favour, and he was certainly in a military sense the strongest of them all. He was already an old man, but he lived until 1896, and was then succeeded by his son Badirile, who died on the 1st of April 1911.

From 1877 to 1881 war was not carried on so openly as either before or after that period, because the government at Pretoria favoured the strongest of the chiefs, and the military force there to some extent overawed them all. But as soon as it became known that the British flag was about to be withdrawn and supervision of the clans ceased, the old quarrels revived. During the night of the 2nd of May 1881 Montsiwa attacked a captain under Matlabe by surprise, killed some fifty of his people, and did great damage to his kraal. Montsiwa was trying to do in Betshuanaland what Moshesh had done in Basutoland, but he had not a tithe of the ability of the great Mosuto, and instead of making friends of the weaker clans around him he made enemies of them. By the people of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State he was regarded, and not without reason as has been shown in another volume, as utterly untrustworthy, but the British authorities in South Africa supported him and treated him as if he was the paramount chief of the Barolong tribe. He was sufficiently astute to try to keep on good terms with them, and during the recent hostilities gave shelter and protection to a considerable number of refugees who were obliged to flee from the Transvaal.

In October 1881 war broke out between the Batlapin chief Mankoroane, whose principal kraal was Taung, on the Hart river, and the Korana captain David Massou, who lived at Mamusa (now Schweizer-Reneke), farther up the same stream. Each threw the blame on the other, but as it certainly needed very little provocation to cause the ever restless Koranas to take up arms, it cannot be far wrong to attribute the war to the possession by Mankoroane of large herds of cattle. Acting on the advice of Europeans living with them, each of these chiefs invited white men to assist him, promising as payment a share of the booty and a farm when the war was over. There were hundreds of men in South Africa eager to take advantage of such an opportunity to acquire

land and cattle. The British authorities termed them fillibusters and freebooters, but many people of good repute found it difficult to see in what respect morally they differed from the men of the German legion enlisted and employed by Great Britain in the Crimean war, or from the Scotch troopers who fought under Gustavus Adolphus and in the wars of the Netherlands. There were some very dissolute and unprincipled men among them, but there were also many who would pass muster as respectable burghers in an English agricultural district or a county in Canada.

There was no intention on their part to kill those on the opposite side, and in fact only a very few who made themselves particularly obnoxious lost their lives in the operations in which they took part. Their presence indeed tended to prevent bloodshed; and their object and interest was to obtain peace as soon as possible and to preserve it afterwards. A large majority of those who enlisted on Massou's side came from the Transvaal, but there were over sixty deserters from the British regiments in South Africa among them. Those who took part with Mankoroane were mostly from the diamond fields and the towns in the Cape Colony.

Hostilities were carried on for nine months, during which time Mankoroane lost a good many cattle, but surprisingly few men, certainly not half as many as would have perished if his enemy had not been restrained from taking life by the presence of Europeans. Then, on the 26th of July 1882, largely through the mediation of the Transvaal authorities peace was concluded between the two contending chiefs and people.

A tract of land sufficiently large to provide four hundred and sixteen farms of three thousand morgen each was then allotted by the chiefs and their counsellors to the white men, who resolved to form one community, and who elected a Transvaal farmer named Gerrit Jacobus van Niekerk to be their leader.

A great comet was visible at the time, so the territory ceded to the Europeans was called by them Stellaland. A site for a town to be the seat of government was selected, building allotments and streets were laid out, and the name Vryburg was given to it. The farms were roughly apportioned until they could be properly surveyed, and certificates of ownership were issued, which enabled those who did not intend to occupy them personally to sell their rights. A good class of men from other parts of South Africa then came in and purchased ground, so that Stellaland soon presented the appearance of a perfectly orderly and respectable community.

On the 7th of August 1883 it was proclaimed an independent republic by Mr. G. J. van Niekerk, who thereupon assumed duty as administrator of its government. A representative body termed the *bestuur* (i.e. the directorate) was elected, the necessary officials were appointed, and a new state was added to those previously existing in South Africa.

Greater discord was created in Betshuanaland by the feud between the Barolong chiefs Moshete and Montsiwa. Moshete was descended from the principal son of Tao, and was therefore higher in hereditary rank, but Montsiwa had a larger following and was favoured by the British authorities in South Africa. In reality there was no paramount Barolong chief, for each section of the tribe after its division into four branches was absolutely independent of the other three. Moroko at Thaba Ntshu and Matlabe in the Transvaal were quite as free of either Moshete or Montsiwa as if they had been Bakwena or Bapedi. Yet this claim to a title which carried no authority with it kept a large part of Southern Betshuanaland convulsed for many years.

When Massou and Mankoroane engaged Europeans to assist them, Moshete and Montsiwa followed their example. Moshete's volunteers came from the Transvaal, where Montsiwa was so detested that President Kruger

was unable to prevent them from crossing the border or even from making the republic a base for hostile operations. The British government naturally complained of this, and the president, who was exceedingly anxious to preserve concord, did all that he could to induce the volunteers to retire, but in vain. He could not use force against them, for that would have provoked civil war.

Montsiwa's principal European adviser was a man of good family in England, named Christopher Bethell, who had unfortunately formed a connection with a niece of the chief, and who had come to consider himself a member of the clan. It was an extraordinary position for an educated English gentleman to be in, but occasionally such idiosyncrasies, which would be regarded as extravagant in a romance, are met with in real life. Bethell acted as Montsiwa's confidential agent, and was believed to have procured not only recruits, but large quantities of ammunition at the diamond fields. He was in correspondence with the secretary to the high commissioner, and took care to represent all occurrences in which Montsiwa was concerned in the most favourable light.

The attack by Montsiwa during the night of the 2nd of May 1881 upon the section of Matlabe's people living at Lotlakana was resented by the farmers along the Transvaal frontier, who held Matlabe in high regard, as he had never once broken faith with them. He was at this time a very old man, too feeble to take the field himself, but Moshete was ready to adopt his cause. The farmers too were ready to do anything in their power to chastise the arch-villain Montsiwa as he was termed by the Transvaal state secretary Mr. W. E. Bok, in his correspondence with the high commissioner. It took several months, however, to get everything ready, and at the same time Montsiwa was preparing to resist, each side being fully aware of what the other side was doing. On the 17th of October 1881 Moshete and his partisans

attacked Montsiwa at Sehuba, his principal station, but were beaten off. On making a second attack shortly afterwards, however, Sehuba was taken and burnt, when Montsiwa and most of his people retired to a place called Mafeking, on the northern bank of the Molopo river. Mafeking had previously been an out-station, occupied by Molema, Montsiwa's brother, but it now became one of the most important places in Betschuanaland. Under the direction of the English volunteers trenches were dug and walls were built, until the station became so strongly fortified that it could not be taken by assault by any force that Moshete could bring against it.

There was much greater vindictiveness displayed by both sides in this quarrel than in that between Massou and Mankoroane, and deeds revolting to humanity, such as the murder of women and children, were perpetrated on more than one occasion. The disappearance of a man named James Scott McGillvray, one of Montsiwa's volunteers, who it was alleged had been captured, put in chains, and then foully murdered by farmers who were fighting on Moshete's side, though the particulars could not be ascertained and the only evidence was a cane with McGillvray's name cut on it that was found by a shackled skeleton, caused much correspondence between the British resident at Pretoria, the high commissioner, and McGillvray's relatives, and tended to intensify the bitter feeling between the English and Dutch speaking people of South Africa.

The farmers engaged on Moshete's side elected as their leader a man named Nicolaas Claudius Gey van Pittius, whose only qualifications for the post were personal courage and hatred of his opponents. He styled himself Moshete's agent, and professed to be acting under that chief's orders, but in reality he, and not the chief, directed all the movements. It can serve no good purpose to relate the different skirmishes and night attacks and surprises, sometimes successful on one side

sometimes on the other, that took place, nor to recount the burning of huts and seizure of cattle that was turning the land into a wilderness such as the emigrant farmers found it when they drove Moselekatse away. This went on until Montsiwa was compelled to abandon all his stations except Mafeking, where at last he stood at bay. He had then very few Europeans left to assist him. As Mafeking could not be taken by storm, Moshete's party formed a lager about an English mile or a little over a kilometre and a half distant from it, and invested the place so that no one could get in or out,

As it had been impossible to lay in a large supply of food, hunger soon began to be felt in the beleaguered station, and this was speedily followed by disease, which carried off first the young children and the old people, and then attacked those in the prime of life. The number of deaths daily became appalling. Montsiwa himself did not suffer hunger, because as long as there was any food at all he as chief partook first of it, but his family was in great distress. His counsellors and his sons implored him to try to come to terms with his enemies, they put before him the plain fact that to hold out longer meant certain death to all his people, because the planting season would soon pass by, and then if they had not made gardens they must perish, but for some time he was deaf to their entreaties. At last, like Moshesh in similar circumstances, he consented to pretend to submit in order to get seed in the ground, and so he sent to Commandant J. P. Snyman in the Transvaal to ask him to act as mediator and arrange terms of peace. The commandant consented, and without delay proceeded to Mafeking.

On the 24th of October 1882 the terms as dictated by Commandant Snyman were drawn up in the form of a treaty between Moshete and Montsiwa, which was signed by both the chiefs and their principal counsellors and leading men. It took from Montsiwa the larger and

much the better part of the territory that he had once been in possession of, and placed him under the protection and control of the Transvaal government. It took from Moshete also some ground, so as to form a solid block along the Transvaal border according to the convention of Pretoria, from Ramathlabama to Stellaland. It bound Montsiwa to pay £16,000 as a war indemnity within one month, either in cash or something to that value. In enforcing such severe terms the Transvaal farmers had in mind the past conduct of Montsiwa, how they had once treated him with extreme generosity, which he had repaid with a breach of faith and an utter disregard of truth in all his statements thereafter, and they were determined to put it out of his power to act in the same manner again. They therefore left him barely sufficient land to exist upon, where it would be impossible for him to recover his former strength.

The principal object of this chief throughout his life was to regain the whole of the ground that had once been occupied by his father Tawane, which in his view was bounded by his father's most distant outposts and hunting fields, and he lost sight altogether of the fact that the clan had been deprived of every square metre of the habitable portion of it by Moselekatse, when the wretched remnant of the people that survived the ruthless conquest had been obliged to flee far away to Thaba Ntshu. The ejection of the Matabele by the emigrant farmers was a mere episode in Montsiwa's view, and did not affect his right to what had once been his clan's if he could only eject the white conquerors by fair means or foul. From a Bantu standpoint the attitude of this chief was not only intelligible, but was praiseworthy, though the farmers looked at the matter very differently. He now asserted that it was on account of his attachment to the English that he had been made to suffer so severely, and he succeeded in finding some persons who professed to believe him.

As soon as the treaty was signed, 24th of October 1882, Mr. N. C. Gey van Pittius issued a proclamation, with Moshete's approval, in which he took possession of the big block of ground with defined boundaries, and named it Land Goosen, the Land of Goshen. It was intended to give out farms of three thousand morgen in size in it, but this was deferred for a time, and events that occurred prevented its being carried out thereafter. On the 11th of October 1883 a provisional agreement was entered into between the heads of the administrations of Stellaland and Land Goosen for their union under the name of the United States of Stellaland, and to this Moshete and his counsellors gave their consent, that is they did as they were told to. But nothing further ever took place in the matter.

The government at Pretoria maintained that the strife in Betshuanaland was entirely due to the clans being cut off from their protection and authority, and asserted in positive terms that they could maintain order if Great Britain would permit them to do so by giving them control over the disturbed district. On the 17th of December 1882 Lord Kimberley became secretary of state for India, and Lord Derby succeeded him at the colonial office. The new minister was favourably disposed towards the Transvaal, and took the wishes of the republican government and their proposals into consideration. They desired chiefly the withdrawal of the suzerainty, the abrogation of the powers of the British resident, the removal of the south-western boundary, and the reduction of the debt to Great Britain, which they were then unable to pay. The time was opportune, as other events were occupying public attention, so a revision of the convention of Pretoria was resolved upon.

In October 1883 a deputation from the Transvaal, consisting of President Kruger, the reverend Stephanus Jacobus Dutoit, superintendent-general of education, and Commandant Nicolaas Smit, with the reverend David P.

Faure, of Capetown, as interpreter, and Advocate Ewald Esselen, as secretary, visited London. Sir Hercules Robinson was also there, as the secretary of state had requested him to attend and give advice in the matter, Lieutenant-General Sir Leicester Smyth acting as administrator during his absence from Capetown. The prime minister of the Cape Colony, Mr. T. C. Scanlen, attended likewise, his object being to keep the trade route to the north open by a friendly arrangement with the Transvaal delegates. And, as if to make representation complete, the reverend John Mackenzie, of the London missionary society, was in England unofficially advocating the cause of Mankoroane.

The conferences were protracted, as Lord Derby, acting on the advice of Sir Hercules Robinson, was unwilling to subject Mankoroane and Montsiwa to domination by the republic, or to allow the trade route to the north to pass out of British control. On all other matters at variance he was willing to meet the wishes of the deputation, and he thought that in consideration of his doing so they should give way on the one point which he could not entirely concede. They contended long and earnestly for the privileges of the Sand River convention, which left them free to fix a boundary wherever they chose, and at any rate they claimed the territory taken by them from Moselekatse, over which they had unquestionably exercised authority. They offered to neutralise a road through it, or to agree to any conditions necessary to protect British commerce from molestation, but finding it impossible to gain their point, they at last gave way, and the boundary was only extended to include in the republic part of the territory of the Korana captain David Massou and part of that of the Barolong chief Moshete. The suzerainty was abolished, the powers of the British resident were abrogated, and that officer was to be replaced by one having the position of a consul. The debt was reduced by £127,000, being the deficit incurred during the adminis-

tration of the country while under British occupation. The remaining debt, namely the liabilities of the country at the time of its annexation by Great Britain in 1877 and the advances made to meet compensation awards, amounting altogether to £250,000, was funded, and it was arranged that it should be liquidated in twenty-five years by the payment of £6 0s. 9d. per cent yearly as sinking fund and interest.

To this effect a new convention was drawn up and signed on the 27th of February 1884. It is much shorter than the one it replaced, containing only twenty articles. By it the South African Republic was restored to the position of an independent state, and its administration, in the earl of Derby's words, "was left free to govern the country without interference, and to conduct its diplomatic correspondence and shape its foreign policy, subject only to the requirement that any treaty with a foreign state should not have effect without the approval of the queen." The exact wording of the fourth article, the one of greatest importance in the convention of London, is as follows:

"The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any state or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the republic, until the same has been approved by her Majesty the queen. Such approval shall be considered to have been granted if her Majesty's government shall not within six months after receiving a copy of such treaty (which shall be delivered to them immediately upon its completion), have notified that the conclusion of such treaty is in conflict with the interests of Great Britain or of any of her Majesty's possessions in South Africa."

In the fourteenth article the rights of European strangers entering the republic are defined. It reads: "All persons, other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic, will have full liberty, with

their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic; they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises; they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; they will not be subject, in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said republic."

The convention required to be ratified by the volksraad, but that body was not fully satisfied with it. It was admitted to be a very great improvement upon the convention of Pretoria, inasmuch as the suzerainty had been abolished and the debt had been reduced, but the south-western boundary was most unsatisfactory, and would certainly produce strife. Both Moshete and Massou ignored it, and would not allow beacons to be erected along it. It was thus not exactly with their entire approval that on the 8th of August 1884 the convention of London, great as was the gain derived from it, was ratified.

In the opinion of most people the conclusion of this convention was unquestionably an act of liberality as well as of justice on the part of the British government. It removed from our country the reproach that some foreign people were casting upon us, that we respected treaties with feeble states no longer than suited our own convenience. It was admitted by us that a wrong had been done,—though perhaps unintentionally,—but that wrong had been redressed, and no apparent reason remained why the most friendly feelings should not in future prevail between the inhabitants of the restored independent South African Republic and those of the British realm.

CHAPTER XXI.

FORMATION OF THE CROWN COLONY OF BRITISH BETSHUANALAND.

WHEN the convention of London was signed Earl Derby thought it possible to maintain order in Southern Betshuanaland more by the prestige of the British name than by a display of strength, until the territory could be annexed to the Cape Colony. He supposed that the cost would be very trifling, and Mr. Scanlen undertook to ask the Cape parliament to bear a portion of it. Very properly Earl Derby wished to avoid putting the imperial treasury to any serious expense, and it was thought that a popular man acting under the high commissioner's instructions would be able to maintain order with a few policemen.

As deputy commissioner for Betshuanaland the reverend John Mackenzie, who had been acting as Mankoroane's agent in England and who was believed to have great influence with the Bantu tribes there, was selected. He had resided in the country for many years as a missionary of the London society, was conversant with the language, and took a deep interest in the welfare of the people. A very interesting volume from his pen, *Ten Years north of the Orange River, a Story of every day Life and Work among the South African Tribes from 1859 to 1869*, published in 1871, had brought him prominently before the British public, and another volume, *Day-dawn in Dark Places, a Story of Wanderings and Work in Bechuanaland*, published in 1883, had created a very favourable impression. He was beyond dispute an able man, but as yet without experience in such work as he was now entrusted with.

On the 12th of April 1884 he was formally appointed by Sir Hercules Robinson deputy commissioner for Betschuana-land, and as soon as he had received his instructions he proceeded to that country. At Taung he met Mankoroane, who, in return for a promise of protection, on the 3rd of May 1884 signed a document giving to her Majesty the queen of England full authority over his country and his people. The extent of the country which he claimed was not stated, and it is doubtful whether the chief and his counsellors realised the full significance of the document they attached their marks to. At a later date he asserted that he had not done so, but that is by no means conclusive evidence.

From Taung Mr. Mackenzie went on to Vryburg, and had several interviews with the administrator Mr. Van Niekerk. He found that the residents in the village, the majority of whom were English or German, had sent a petition to the Cape parliament to be annexed to the Cape Colony, and that they professed to be attached to her Majesty's government. Already there was a marked difference between the views of the villagers and the farmers, but he did not realise this, and mistook what he heard at Vryburg for the opinion of all Stellaland. The new boundary of the South African Republic, however, as defined in the convention of London, had given about a hundred of the farms to that state, and an exchange was going on by which the most determined opponents of British rule were being separated from the others. Mr. Mackenzie promised that the titles to farms occupied by Europeans would be respected, and he announced a British protectorate over Stellaland.

He then appointed Mr. Van Niekerk assistant commissioner, and entrusted the full control of affairs in Stellaland to him. The residents in Vryburg made no objection to this arrangement, but it was valueless, for as soon as the farmers came to hear of it they repudiated it, and Mr. Van Niekerk was obliged to withdraw from the half-

hearted consent he had given to act as Mr. Mackenzie's assistant.

Farther north everything was in confusion. Montsiwa had gathered a good crop, and as soon as his grain was stored had repudiated the treaty with Moshete. The result was that on the 10th of May 1884 Gey van Pittius declared war against him. Two days later, on the 12th of May, Montsiwa made a sudden attack upon the camp of Moshete's volunteers at Rooi-Grond, which was partly within the new Transvaal line, got possession of it, and burnt a great part of it. While the Goshenites, as Moshete's volunteers were now generally termed, were assembling in order to carry on the war, on the 20th of May 1884 Mr. Mackenzie arrived at Mafeking. Montsiwa made no difficulty about attaching his mark, on the 22nd of May, to a document similar to that agreed to by Mankoroane, and thereupon Mr. Mackenzie declared him, his people, and his country, under British protection.

By this act the position of things was completely changed. The ministry in England stated that a protectorate did not imply sovereignty over the country, but it certainly implied that if Montsiwa was attacked by the Goshenites Great Britain would be obliged to defend him. Still it was hoped that as the strength of the opposing parties seemed to be nearly equal, a small police force thrown into one scale would serve to turn the balance. Major Stanley Lowe was therefore directed to raise a corps of one hundred mounted European policemen, to assist Mr. Mackenzie to enforce peace. Major Lowe set about doing this at once, and before the end of July 1884 the Betshuanaland Mounted Police were ready for service. Perhaps a mistake was made in giving Mr. Christopher Bethell a commission in this force, as it exasperated the Goshenites when they found their ablest opponent employed in this manner. Mr. Mackenzie did not consider this force sufficient, and he enrolled thirty additional Europeans and eighty blacks, but the high commissioner

did not approve of the employment of black policemen, and they were only enrolled a few days when they were disbanded.

More reprehensible in the opinion of Sir Hercules Robinson was the engagement by the deputy commissioner of a band of mixed Europeans and Zulus under the leadership of a man who went by the name of Scotty Smith, that had taken an active part in the disturbances of the country and that had captured a great many horses from farmers along the border and in Stellaland. This band had its head-quarters at Taung, and Mankoroane asserted that he dared not interfere with it, as it was too strong for him to control. Mr. Mackenzie never gave his reason for engaging these people under the name of the Betshuanaland Scouts, but the high commissioner refused to sanction the arrangement, or even to pay them for the few days that elapsed before their dismissal.

The government and people of the South African Republic were strongly opposed to Mr. Mackenzie's appointment, on the ground that he was a partisan of the Bantu whether they were in the right or in the wrong, and his description of Montsiwa as "a brave and single-minded chief," which was certainly incorrect in the sense he intended it to bear, was to them very irritating. The Uppington ministry in the Cape Colony also was antagonistic to him, so the high commissioner thought it advisable to request him to visit Capetown to confer with him, and on the 30th of July 1884 appointed Mr. Cecil John Rhodes to act as deputy commissioner during his absence from Betshuanaland. In Capetown on the 20th of August Mr. Mackenzie resigned the office "on account of the antipathy displayed towards him by the Cape ministry and the Transvaal government," and Mr. Rhodes was then confirmed in the appointment. He accepted it solely in the desire to keep the road to the north open and safe under the British flag, and he declined to receive any salary for his services. Before

he could reach the scene of disturbances, on the 31st of July, the day after his first acting appointment, the Goshenites had an engagement with Montsiwa's force, and without any loss to themselves worth speaking of, succeeded in killing about a hundred of his men and wounding many more.

Among those who lost their lives on this occasion was Mr. Christopher Bethell. He was terribly wounded, one side of his face and an eye being shot away, when a couple of ruffians went up to him and began to taunt him. According to the account of Molema, who was wounded and was lying on the ground close by pretending to be dead, one of them threatened to put an end to him, when he replied you can do so if you like, upon which the threat was carried out. It was a brutal murder, and no one, not even Gey van Pittius himself, has ever attempted to justify it. Another Englishman of respectable family, named Nathan Walker, lost his life at the same time.

On the 25th of August 1884 Mr. Rhodes, accompanied from Lichtenburg by General P. J. Joubert representing the South African Republic, arrived at Rooi-Grond, where he had hoped to be able to make some satisfactory arrangement with the Goshenites. Mr. Gey van Pittius was there, but at first declined to meet Mr. Rhodes unless he was acknowledged as administrator of Land Goosen, and that the deputy commissioner would not do. That evening the Goshenites attacked Montsiwa at Mafeking, and continued operations against him throughout the night, the sound of the firing being distinctly heard at Rooi-Grond. On the 26th there was some correspondence and a meeting with Mr. Gey van Pittius and the leading men of his party, who would not agree to anything that affected their independence.

The terms that they submitted were to the effect that the boundaries of Land Goosen should be recognised as those proclaimed on the 24th of October 1882, and that

the treaty of that date between Moshete and Montsiwa should be confirmed; that Montsiwa should pay the costs of the war then being carried on, which should be guaranteed by the intervening parties (*i.e.* Great Britain and the South African Republic); that the government of Land Goosen should be acknowledged as free and independent, they being willing to "secure to the intervening parties by treaties of commerce, free trade, free import, and free transit of goods, produce, et cetera;" that the two governments of the South African Republic and the Cape Colony should guarantee the good behaviour and peaceful conduct of Montsiwa and his people; that they were willing to accept a joint protectorate of the South African Republic, the Cape Colony, and the Orange Free State, provided their government was acknowledged as free and independent, and that those states might appoint consuls or residents at their own expense; and that Montsiwa should break down all fortifications, destroy, and vacate them, and should surrender to the government of Land Goosen all his war materials of every kind.

Such conditions show plainly that the Goshenites regarded themselves as masters of the situation. They were not madmen, and only persons either insane or believing themselves to be invincible would venture to propose such terms to the representative of a power like Great Britain. Mr. Rhodes of course regarded them as inadmissible, and to gain time proposed an armistice of fourteen days to enable him to communicate with the high commissioner, but this was refused. He then warned the Goshenites that in attacking a chief under British protection they were making war upon her Majesty the queen, and at once left for Vryburg. In his opinion there was but one way of settling matters with them, and that was by employing overpowering force, British prestige, upon which Lord Derby had placed reliance, having failed to make any impression on the conduct or

even the language of such men as Gey van Pittius and his supporters.

At Vryburg Mr. Rhodes met an elected committee of the people of Stellaland, whom he found anxious to see perfect order and a strong government in the country. They admitted that they were too weak to stand alone now that a hundred farms had been assigned to the Transvaal by the convention of London, and a majority of them would have preferred to be annexed to the adjoining republic, but as that could not be, they were willing to come under the British flag. On the 8th of September 1884 a formal agreement was entered into between Mr. Rhodes as representing Great Britain on one side and the committee as representing the people of Stellaland on the other, that "pending annexation to the Cape Colony Stellaland should continue its own government, however recognising her Majesty's protectorate, and subject to the condition that all executive acts must be taken in concert and with the consent of the commissioner of Betshuanaland, and that the land titles issued by the government of Stellaland be recognised."

This agreement was ratified by the high commissioner, and was thereafter regarded as binding on all parties. Everything then went on smoothly in Stellaland, except that the incessant cattle thefts by Mankoroane's Batlapin and the robbers domiciled at Taung occasionally nearly caused retaliation on that chief by the white people. Major Lowe's police were mainly occupied in trying to suppress this cattle lifting, but with all their efforts they did not succeed in entirely preventing it.

After Mr. Rhodes left Rooi-Grond General Joubert consented at Montsiwa's request to act as mediator between him and the Goshenites, and to draw up a treaty between them. Naturally he and Mr. Rhodes looked at the matter from different standpoints. To him the trade route to the north was of little consequence, and the ground through which it ran was morally the property of

the representatives of the emigrant farmers. Montsiwa in his eyes was a perfidious barbarian—he used the word scoundrel when describing him,—who was deserving of little consideration, and who had brought this latest trouble upon himself by ignoring a treaty made at his own request less than two years before. He felt bound by the convention of London, but not otherwise, to assist in suppressing the disturbances on the border of the state of which he was a prominent official.

The terms of the treaty of peace drawn up by him and signed on the 30th of August were that Montsiwa gave himself and his people over unconditionally to the government of Land Goosen, and became subjects of that state; that he should break down and destroy all the fortifications of Mafeking; that he should have Mafeking and a tract of land around it with defined boundaries, thirty thousand morgen in extent, as a location; and that either party breaking the treaty should pay £10,000 to the government of the South African Republic, to be awarded by it to the other party. This treaty was signed by Moshete and his counsellors, by the leading men of Land Goosen, by Montsiwa and his counsellors, and by General Joubert. Its terms were communicated to Mr. Rhodes, who as representing the British government without hesitation repudiated it, and it was never carried out.

The next attempt to arrive at a settlement was made by the government of the South African Republic. The reverend S. J. Dutoit, superintendent general of education, was appointed a special commissioner, and on the 25th of September 1884 concluded a provisional treaty with Montsiwa, by which all the territory claimed by that chief and by Moshete, including Land Goosen, was placed under the protectorate of the South African Republic, and Montsiwa had fifteen thousand morgen of land added to his location. At the request of all the parties to this transaction, the government of the republic

issued a proclamation provisionally assuming a protectorate over this territory, but on the British authorities objecting to it, the proclamation was withdrawn.

The expectations of Earl Derby with regard to Betschuanaland had been disappointed in another respect also. Mr. Upington declined to carry out Mr. Scanlen's promise to ask the Cape parliament to bear a portion of the expense of maintaining a commissioner and a small police force there, so that the whole burden fell upon the imperial treasury. For some time indeed it was anticipated that the territory would be annexed to the Cape Colony, and Mr. Upington's ministry would not have objected to this if matters had gone on smoothly there. They desired to do nothing antagonistic to the South African Republic, but after conferring with the delegates of that state when they returned from Europe, on the 15th of July 1884 Mr. Upington moved in the house of assembly, that "in the opinion of this house it is expedient, pending the ratification of the convention of London by the volksraad of the South African Republic, that the colonial government be authorised to open negotiations with her Majesty's imperial government, with the view to submitting to parliament next session a measure for the annexation to the Cape Colony of the territory on the south-western border of the South African Republic, now under the protection of Great Britain." This was carried, and four months later, when it was known that a strong force was to be sent from England to uphold the queen's authority in Betschuanaland, the ministry resolved to make a final attempt to settle matters there in an amicable manner.

With this intent, on the 4th of November 1884 Messrs. Upington and Sprigg, taking with them Mr. J. S. Marais, member of the house of assembly for Paarl, left Capetown for the north. At Vryburg they were joined by Mr. G. J. van Niekerk, and then went on to Rooigrond, where they arrived on the 17th. Whether a

change in disposition had taken place, or whether the knowledge that military preparations were being made to assist Montsiwa was the cause, Messrs. Upington and Sprigg met with a much more friendly reception from the Goshenites than had been accorded to Mr. Rhodes. With Mr. Van Niekerk's assistance matters were discussed for several days, and on the 22nd of November it was finally arranged that Land Goosen should be annexed to the Cape Colony. Until that could be completed, which would require the approval of both the Cape parliament and the imperial ministry, the same system as in Stellaland was to be observed, namely the existing administration was to continue to carry on the government, but no legislation was to be valid unless approved by a British commissioner. Montsiwa was to have all the land he possessed in May 1884 restored to him.

The ministers then returned to Capetown, where they reported that they had found the great majority of the white inhabitants of Goshen respectable and law-abiding people, many of whom had acquired rights by purchase. But the high commissioner did not approve of the arrangement that had been made by them, and it was then really too late to make any arrangement at all, for an expedition was on the way from England with the express object of expelling all the white intruders—(freebooters they were called)—from the so-called Land of Goshen.

Upon receiving information of what had occurred during the visit of Mr. Rhodes to Rooi-Grond, Mr. Gladstone and Earl Derby were of opinion that the honour of England demanded that a chief nominally under British protection should actually be protected against rapacious despoilers. Montsiwa, in the opinion of South African farmers an "arch-villain" and a "scoundrel," in Mr. Gladstone's opinion was an innocent and injured chief, but even supposing him to be utterly worthless, Mr. Gey van Pittius and his partisans could not be allowed

to deal with him as they chose. There was also the murder of Mr. Bethell, who at the time of his being so foully dealt with was an officer in the British service, to be considered. And the convention line of the South African Republic was to be maintained, and the road to the north to be kept open.

So it was determined to employ a force of five thousand men to clear the territory of the Goshenites who had acted in such a highhanded manner in it. The first intimation of this intention was received by the high commissioner in Capetown on the 3rd of October 1884, a full month before Messrs. Upington and Sprigg went on their fruitless mission. The expedition was to consist chiefly of volunteers, who were to be picked men, expert in shooting and riding, but it was to have some regular artillerymen and trained soldiers attached to it. It was recruited principally in England, but the full number was made up in the Cape Colony. From the troops already stationed in South Africa, detachments were drawn from the sixth or Inniskilling dragoons and from the second battalion of the fifty-eighth or Northamptonshire regiment, and from England a detachment of the Scots Guards, some engineers, and a number of artillerymen with their guns were sent. There was what was termed a pioneer corps, and the remainder of the force consisted of irregular cavalry in three divisions or regiments.

On the 10th of November Major-General Sir Charles Warren, who had seen a great deal of service in South Africa since November 1876, when as a captain in the royal engineers he was sent from England to survey the boundary between Griqualand West and the Orange Free State, was appointed commander in chief of the expedition and special commissioner for Betschuanaland. With his staff he arrived in Capetown on the 4th of December, and without a day's delay set about making the necessary preparations for moving northward. At government

house he met Mr. Rhodes, and requested him to return to Betschuanaland and resume duty as deputy commissioner in the undisturbed parts of the territory. Mr. Rhodes consented, and for some time sent his reports to the high commissioner, but later at General Warren's request sent them to him.

To arrange everything necessary for the advance of a body of five thousand men beyond the railway terminus at the Orange river needed some time, and January 1885 was far advanced before General Warren was able to meet President Kruger at a point on the south-western border of the Transvaal, and make arrangements with him for having the new boundary according to the convention of London properly surveyed and marked with beacons. On the 24th and 26th of January long conferences took place, at which Mr. Rhodes, the reverend Mr. Mackenzie, and Mr. Van Niekerk, with many others, were present. The president endeavoured to get some modifications where the line passed through the land claimed by Massou and Moshete, both of whom were strongly opposed to it, but General Warren maintained that the wording of the London convention must be strictly adhered to, and this was determined upon. In case of disagreement as to the meaning of any terms used in the convention, it was arranged that President Brand, of the Orange Free State, should be requested to appoint an umpire. Sir Charles Warren then appointed Captain Claude Reignier Conder, of the royal engineers, to survey the boundary from Ramathlabama Spruit southward on behalf of the British government, and President Kruger appointed Mr. Tielman Nieuwoudt de Villiers to do the same on behalf of the South African Republic.

These gentlemen commenced the work as soon as possible, but encountered so many difficulties that it was only completed on the 11th of September 1885. On one occasion it became necessary to refer a difference of

opinion between them to President Brand, who appointed Judge Melius de Villiers to decide it. Massou in particular gave a great deal of trouble by breaking down the beacons through his land near Mamusa as fast as they were erected, and assuming a defiant attitude towards all white people. He believed that President Kruger by consenting to the new boundary had betrayed him, and thereupon declared that he regarded the Transvaal farmers as enemies and began to plunder them. Moshete was less violent, but he too complained that the Transvaal did not support him as the English supported Montsiwa, and therefore it would be better for him to go over to the stronger side.

To facilitate communication with Capetown and England a line of telegraph was being constructed as rapidly as the material could be forwarded, and on the 16th of February it reached Vryburg and an office was opened there. Another improvement in the country that was being made by the expedition was the sinking of wells to ensure a supply of water along the road. About every twelve English miles or nineteen kilometres one was sunk, and usually water was found at no great depth from the surface.

Overtures from the Goshenites were made on several occasions as the expedition marched northward, but no notice was taken of them. The advance was steady and uninterrupted, scouts moving in all directions to prevent the main body being surprised, until on the 10th of March 1885 Mafeking was reached, and it was found that the Goshenites had dispersed and taken all their movable property with them. Without having occasion to fire a single shot, the expedition had succeeded in its object of clearing the country of objectionable intruders.

The country was now held in undisputed occupation by an English army, and it became necessary for Mr. Gladstone to decide what to do with it. So far the

only obligations of Great Britain with regard to it were the promises of protection made by Mr. Mackenzie to Mankoroane and Montsiwa, and the agreement made by Mr. Rhodes with the people of Stellaland. Sir Charles Warren thought that it rested with him as special commissioner to arrange for its future government, and already, on the 14th of February, he had proclaimed military law in force in Stellaland. He had proved himself a very able military leader, but as a politician he was as great a failure as Sir Garnet Wolseley in Zululand. He almost ignored the high commissioner, who alone had power under an order in council of the 27th of January 1885 to proclaim laws and appoint magistrates, and he disagreed with Mr. Rhodes, who on the 16th of March resigned as deputy commissioner, giving as his reason that the general was violating the agreement of the 8th of September 1884 made by him with the people of Stellaland and approved by the imperial authorities. He was obliged to withdraw his proclamation of military law in Stellaland (15th of April 1885), but as he could not brook opposition, he retained his dislike of Mr. Rhodes, whom he termed a very dangerous man.

His treatment of Mr. Van Niekerk was almost universally condemned in South Africa. A man named James Honey, who had been Mankoroane's principal recruiting agent, was murdered in March 1883, and some persons asserted that Mr. Van Niekerk as administrator of Stellaland must have been accessory to the crime. He courted the fullest investigation, and General Warren caused him to be arrested and brought before court after court, all of which pronounced that they had no jurisdiction in the case. He was poor, and the cost of engaging lawyers fell heavily upon him, but President Kruger came to his relief, gave him an appointment in the South African Republic that enabled him to live comfortably.

Acting under instructions from the secretary of state, on the 23rd of March 1885 Sir Hercules Robinson issued a proclamation declaring a British protectorate over the whole territory from the western boundary of the South African Republic to the twentieth meridian from Greenwich, and from the Cape Colony to the twenty-second parallel of south latitude. This proclamation did not establish sovereignty, but only a protectorate, over the country, and nothing further was done in the matter until the change of ministry in England which placed Lord Salisbury at the head of affairs.

It was not long before Montsiwa tried to give trouble. He could not comprehend the cost to Great Britain of the expedition that had brought him relief, and imagined that General Warren ought to comply with all his wishes. His first request was that every Morolong that did not recognise his authority should be expelled from the territory, and he seemed surprised when he was informed that only his European opponents were to be treated in this manner. That was not acting properly towards him, the friend of the English, he argued, that was only half helping him. Then General Warren resolved to lay out a small village for Europeans to live in close to Mafeking, but separate from the Barolong huts and distant a few hundred metres from them, where sanitary regulations could be carried out and each nationality could live by itself, but to this Montsiwa objected. He preferred that the European village should be at Rooi-Grond, and could not understand why General Warren spoke in a tone of authority to him. He gave way, however, and proved more tractable afterwards.

In July the Salisbury ministry resolved to withdraw Sir Charles Warren and the whole of his force from Betshuanaland, and to authorise the high commissioner to enrol a body of five hundred European mounted policemen to maintain order in the territory. Major Lowe's police, one hundred in number, were to be disbanded, but they

and men of Warren's irregular cavalry could enlist in the new Betshuanaland Border Police if they chose to do so. These instructions were carried out without delay, and Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Carrington was appointed to the command. General Warren retired, and on the 24th of September left Capetown to return to England. The detachments of dragoons and Northamptonshires returned to their regiments, and in September the second battalion of the fifty-eighth left for Hong Kong.

Instructions to Sir Hercules Robinson followed, under which on the 30th of September 1885 a proclamation was issued by him declaring her Majesty's sovereignty over that portion of the Protectorate lying north of the Cape Colony, south of Ramathlabama Spruit and the Molopo river, west of the South African Republic, and east of the lower course of the Molopo river, that makes a bend to the south, which was to be termed British Betshuanaland.

The governor of the Cape Colony was by a separate commission appointed governor of British Betshuanaland. As administrator and supreme chief Judge Sidney Godolphin Alexander Shippard was appointed, and on the 23rd of October 1885 arrived at Vryburg, which was to be the seat of government.

British Betshuanaland was divided into three districts: Vryburg, of which Mr. Abraham Faure Robertson was appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate; Mafeking, of which Mr. James E. Surmon was appointed magistrate; and Taung, of which the reverend John Smith Moffat, a son of the venerable missionary Dr. Robert Moffat, was appointed magistrate. Minor officials were drawn from the Cape civil service, and everything necessary for the establishment of a crown colony was provided. The laws of the Cape Colony were to be the laws of British Betshuanaland. In November Sir Hercules Robinson visited the province, and saw that everything was in proper working order.

There was no opposition by either white people or Bantu to this settlement of Southern Betschuanaland, which was a guarantee of the maintenance of order there. And for the present the imperial authorities abandoned the hope of annexation to the Cape Colony, which would give them relief from the pecuniary responsibilities they had incurred. Some four hundred of the Stellalanders sent a petition to the high commissioner against such annexation, and the Cape parliament was disinclined to be burdened with it, so for ten years to come British Betschuanaland remained a crown colony.

Under British rule the clans were prevented from pillaging and destroying each other, and consequently were able under missionary guidance to advance towards civilisation.

It soon became apparent that a mistake had been made in putting Mankoroane forward as paramount chief of the Batlapin. He was one of the poorest specimens of a Bantu ruler to be found anywhere, and cared nothing for the interests of his people as long as his personal wants were gratified. His word was as valueless as that of Montsiwa, which implies that it was worth nothing at all. He was sullen and discontented because the Stellalanders had not been driven away and their land given to him, though he had ample for all his needs. On one occasion his crops of millet were over-ripe and the grain was falling to the ground, but he would not give permission to his people to gather it, because the yearly circumcision ceremonies were not over, and the magistrate was obliged to ignore his authority for a time and order the women to harvest the crops, or all would have been lost. The reverend Mr. Moffat, who was magistrate at Taung, who had a very wide experience in dealing with Bantu, and who made allowances for their failings whenever he could, reported of him in June 1886 in the following words: "he is the most despicable native chief I have ever had to do with." Sir Hercules Robin-

son, on learning of his conduct, decided no longer to treat him as the paramount chief of the Batlapin tribe, a position which none of the other chiefs would acknowledge he had any right to. So that error was rectified, to the satisfaction of nearly every one.

The European population increased in number. Vryburg grew to be an important town, and Mafeking became a thriving business centre. The white people were satisfied with Mr. Shippard's administration, and were without political grievances until regular titles to the farms were issued. Then they complained that the agreement with Mr. Rhodes, which was the foundation of British rule in the country, was not being adhered to. By that agreement their titles were to be respected, and those titles or certificates of ownership gave them absolute possession. In the new titles, which were to replace the certificates, reservations to the crown were made of precious stones and metals, streams, fountains, and outspans, which diminished the value of the land. But as no precious stones or metals were ever found there, and as wells and dams made by the farmers were not mentioned, practically the conditions of ownership remained unchanged.

The Korana captain David Massou took so prominent a part in the disturbances that have been recorded that it will be well to continue the story of his career, though he did not reside in Betshuanaland. He was incensed with the government of the South African Republic because it had not prevented the division of the land that he claimed, and could not realise how consistently, though ineffectually, President Kruger had striven to prevent that act. In his opinion a very large portion of his land had been taken from him, and so little remained that the only thing his people could do for a living would be to rob the farmers of cattle.

The farmers resented this, and the government called upon Massou to prevent it. He was also informed that it would be necessary to erect beacons round his location,

and that he and his people would have to pay hut-tax. The land on the other side of the boundary, he was told, was not lost to him, it was still his, only on that side his people would be subject to a different government. Massou replied that he would have nothing to do with any government, and would not pay taxes to any one. By the Keate award he and his people had been declared free and independent, as such he had carried on war with Mankoroane, and as such he would remain. He entirely ignored the convention of London, which had been made without reference to him. It cannot be denied that Massou had a good case, and yet it was impossible to allow a gang of robbers, such as the Koranas then were, to remain unchecked.

Commandant-General Joubert was therefore directed by the republican government to reduce Massou to subjection. He called out eight hundred burghers, and with the state artillery, a small corps of trained men, proceeded to Mamusa. Massou was given a last chance to submit, and as he declined it and prepared to fight, early in the morning of the 2nd of December 1885 a hill upon which the Koranas were posted was attacked. It was stubbornly defended, and the lower part was not taken until Captain Schweizer, of the artillery, and nine farmers were killed and fourteen others were wounded. Massou himself, his two sons, and about sixty of his people, among whom were some women and children, fell in the engagement, many of them from the fire of the cannon. The majority of the fighting men retired to the crown of the hill, where they held out for twenty-four hours, but as they were without water they were then obliged to surrender. The booty, consisting of thirty horses, fourteen hundred head of horned cattle, and about as many sheep, was insufficient to cover the cost of the commando. The clan was broken up and dispersed, and even the name Mamusa was discarded, being replaced by the much less euphonious Schweizer-

Reneke, after Captain Schweizer and Fieldcornet Reneke, who fell in the engagement.

North of Ramathlabama Spruit and the Molopo river the territory remained a protectorate, and was not made subject to British sovereignty. It was occupied by the Bangwaketse, the Bakatla, the Bakwena, and the Bama-ngwato tribes, all members of the same family group and having recently had the crocodile as their siboko.

Close to the Molopo the Bangwaketse tribe lived, whose principal kraal was at Kanye. At this time their chief was Bathoën, a sensible man, who bore no love for the Barolong under Montsiwa, but who kept his people from open strife. For many years nothing occurred here worthy of note.

Next to the north came the Bakwena tribe under Setsheli, the chief whom the reverend Dr. Livingstone brought into such prominence. He was now very old and feeble, though he lived until 1893, and his son Sebele was the virtual ruler. The Bakwena were at war with the Bakatla, a kindred tribe, whose siboko—the crocodile—was the same, though a species of monkey from which they derived their tribal title was also regarded as a siboko.

These Bakatla were among the most restless people in the whole country. They lived at Mabotsa when the reverend Dr. Livingstone, who was succeeded by the reverend Roger Edwards, was a missionary with them, and where they were visited in June 1844 by the hunter Gordon Cumming. Their chief was then Moselele. He was at war with Setsheli, who, however, gave him shelter eight years later when the Transvaal authorities were trying to bring him to account for cattle stealing.

In 1870 the Bakatla were living at Pilansberg in the district of Rustenburg in the Transvaal, and were under the chief Khamanyani. They were a nuisance to all their neighbours, and the chief was as insolent as he was thievishly disposed. But one day he provoked Commandant

Paul Kruger, who had ridden on horseback to his kraal to seek redress for some injury, to such an extent that Mr. Kruger's patience became exhausted, and he chastised the chief soundly with his riding shambok. Khamanyani complained of this as an indignity, and to avoid a repetition of it fled to Setsheli's country.

The Bakwena chief received him in a friendly manner, and allotted him a tract of land at Motshudi to live upon. There were not many people with him at the time, but gradually others came from the Transvaal to join him, until the greater part of the Bakatla tribe was united once more. He had at first professed to be Setsheli's most obedient vassal, but now he felt strong enough to stand by himself, and not only bade defiance to the man who had given him shelter, but made war upon him, though neither party was able to do more than carry on plundering raids against the other. He tried to justify his conduct by asserting that the ground he was living on did not belong to Setsheli, and therefore the Bakwena chief could not claim him as a vassal. In this manner a feud was commenced between the Bakwena and the Bakatla, which kept that part of Betschuanaland in a disturbed state for many years. In 1875 Khamanyani died, and was succeeded by his son Linshwe, who was then about eighteen years of age. The young chief acted towards Setsheli in the same way as his father had done, and though on more than one occasion European agents of the Transvaal government tried to bring about peace between them, nothing more lasting than a temporary armistice was the result.

In 1878 the attention of the high commissioner Sir Bartle Frere and the British authorities in the Transvaal was drawn to Matabeleland by a written concession having been granted by Lobengula on the 8th of May of that year to Mr. Gilbert McArthur, a resident at Tati, to prospect for gold with not more than ten white men for three years in Mashonaland. This was regarded as

an event that might possibly lead to complications in the north, and it was therefore considered advisable to try to ascertain more than was then known of the country between the Limpopo and the Zambesi and its inhabitants. There were a few traders and missionaries in Matabeleland, among the latter the reverend Mr. Thomas and the reverend Charles Daniel Helm, who went to reside there in 1875, so that information was obtainable upon that part of the country, but of Mashonaland very little more was known than the facts that the Matabele were in the habit of making murderous raids into it, that the people were divided into many little communities independent of each other and were in an exceedingly degraded state, and that the chiefs possessed very little authority over their followers. That the Makaranga living there were descendants of the highly intelligent subjects of the monomotapas of olden time, that they had been reduced by discord among themselves and by conquest and savage treatment to the condition in which they were then, but that they were capable of improvement again, was quite unknown.

Sir Bartle Frere resolved to send a competent man to explore the country, to visit the principal chiefs, and to collect information of every kind that might be useful. For this purpose he selected Captain R. R. Patterson, who had already made a journey into the interior, and who possessed exceptional qualifications for the task. He was in the prime of life and in robust health, was full of vigour, was a careful observer, a good draughtsman, fond of overcoming difficulties, and above all entered into the project with the liveliest interest and with intense delight. With him was associated Mr. J. G. Sergeant, a son of the gentleman who had been sent out from England to put the Transvaal finances in order, and who embraced the offer with enthusiasm. On the 24th of June 1878 they left Pretoria with a proper equipment for the journey before them.

They directed their course first to Shoshong, the principal settlement of the Bamangwato tribe of Betschuana, then under the chief Khama. On the way they came in contact with some Masarwa, the mixed offspring of Bush girls and Bantu men, who were without property of any kind, and lived upon game and wild plants. Khama they found to be a man of great intelligence and of excellent disposition. He was a sincere Christian, had only one wife, and ruled his people kindly, but firmly. He had strictly prohibited the introduction of spirituous liquor of any kind into his country, and the result was that the utmost order was observed by his people. At this time he was about forty years of age. The population of Shoshong was estimated at ten thousand souls, of whom two thousand five hundred were capable of bearing arms. The situation of the settlement was not a good one, and water was far from plentiful, but it had been chosen on account of its being capable of defence against the Matabele. There were several other kraals in the Bamangwato country, but none so large as Shoshong. There were nine trading stores, and the European residents numbered twenty-three men, six women, and thirteen children.

From Shoshong the travellers went on to the residence of Lobengula, chief of the Matabele. Here they were well received, and found no difficulty in making a friendly arrangement with the chief regarding his dealings with white men, but their report does not contain such minute particulars concerning the locality and the tribe as was given of Shoshong and the Bamangwato.

A circumstance connected with the Bamangwato is worth mentioning, as it shows that the ancient belief in ancestral spirits visiting people in the form of a particular animal was becoming lost by some sections of the Bantu. When this tribe separated from its kindred it voluntarily adopted a species of antelope as its siboko instead of the crocodile, which it certainly would not have

done in earlier days. Even to the new *siboko* very little veneration was shown, so completely had the old belief died out. But with most of the tribes it still survived, with some more as a tradition than as a living faith, but with others in all its ancient strength.

Their next stage was to the reverend Mr. Thomas's mission station Shiloh, about thirty miles or forty-eight kilometres distant from Lobengula's kraal. Their Setswana interpreters were now useless, as the dialects spoken by the people they were among were quite different from those in use in Bechuanaland. A son of Mr. Thomas, however, volunteered to go with them as guide and interpreter, and they gladly availed themselves of his services. From this stage little is known except from accounts gathered from Bantu of what occurred. They left Shiloh with the intention of proceeding first to the Victoria falls, but when about three days' journey from the Zambesi, after being two days without water, they managed to capture a Bushman, and by signs compelled him to show them a pool, which he did most unwillingly. They were in such a state of distress from thirst that they took no precautions, but at once drank immoderately, though both Captain Patterson and Mr. Thomas, had they reflected for a moment, must have realised that it was extremely dangerous to do so. They may not have known much about Bushmen and their habits, but they must at least have heard of the method of the wild people of killing game by poisoning pools of water in localities such as this. But what were they to do, as they may have believed themselves to be perishing from thirst? They drank, and within a few hours the three white men and five of their Bantu attendants died, for the water had been poisoned. Tidings of this event were brought back by some Bantu survivors of the ill-fated party.

Sir Charles Warren sent some officers—Major Samuel Edwards, Lieutenant C. E. Haynes, and Lieutenant Maund

—to Lobengula to inform him of the establishment of the protectorate and to gather information as to his condition and views. They arrived at Bulawayo on the 4th of June 1885, and remained there twenty-five days. They were well received and treated by Lobengula, who declared himself as very friendly towards English people. He claimed all the Betshuana chiefs as his vassals, and more than once asserted that Khama had no country of his own.

On their way to Bulawayo they visited Tati, where they found that mining was not prospering, though eight or nine companies had sent rich specimens of quartz to England. Machinery for crushing ore was needed, and could not be brought from either the Cape Colony or Natal for want of roads. This condition of things was not to last many years longer, however, for the railroad was advancing rapidly towards the interior. On the 4th of November 1885 the first engine steamed into Kimberley, and on the 28th of that month Sir Hercules Robinson formally opened the line to that town amidst such festivities as had seldom before been witnessed in South Africa. And among the spectators on that occasion was a man who was dreaming of carrying that railroad to the very northern extremity of the continent, and who was destined before his early death to see it open many hundreds of miles beyond Tati.

On the return journey Major Edwards' party visited Shoshong, the largest Bantu town in South Africa, which contained, as they estimated, from fifteen to twenty thousand inhabitants. From Shoshong to Molopolole they travelled by the western road, and in one part found no water at all for forty-five miles and not sufficient for a span of oxen for seventy-five miles, as they were on the border of the great Thirstland of South Africa.

At that time Germany was seeking places that she might take possession of, with the object of extending her commerce and her influence over distant parts of the

world. She had as much right as any other power to do this, but nations that had established colonies before she thought of doing so were justified in trying to prevent her from occupying positions that would break their lines of communication or endanger their safety. A full account has been given in a preceding volume of her occupation of Great Namaqualand and Damaraland, and if there had been a good harbour that could have been strongly fortified on that line of coast, not only would the Cape Colony have been endangered, but the sea route round the Cape of Good Hope would have been interfered with. Perhaps this was not seen very clearly in 1884, but sufficient was suspected of Germany's designs regarding this part of the world to make Englishmen unusually watchful.

In Pondoland and Zululand attempts were made by Germany to get possession of territory, but were frustrated in the first named country by the foresight of Sir Bartle Frere in proclaiming a British protectorate over the coast, and in Zululand by Panda's cession of Saint Lucia Bay that had been almost forgotten. In the reports of the mission sent to the north by Sir Charles Warren, Lieutenant Haynes mentioned that three Germans had been exploring the country about Shoshong and farther towards the Zambesi. Their efforts had the result of obtaining for their country by negotiations a long strip of land giving access to that river, but Mr. Rhodes was on the alert, and was just in time to secure for Great Britain the vast territory that now bears his name and with it an open highway to the heart of the continent.

British Betschuanaland remained a crown colony for ten years, during which time it made steady progress in European population and consequently in material prosperity. As the railway to the north advanced through it land increased in value, and Kimberley provided a market for produce of all kinds. It was, however, upon the whole better adapted for cattle rearing than for agriculture,

though in good seasons and wherever the ground could be irrigated large crops of maize were obtained. In course of time two new magisterial districts, Kuruman and Gordonia, were created, and perfect order was maintained by the well-disciplined corps termed the Betshuanaland border police.

The natural destiny of the province was absorption by the Cape Colony, and both parties having at last agreed to unite, in the session of the Cape parliament in 1895 an act for the purpose was passed. It provided that British Betshuanaland should be an electoral circle, to be represented in the legislative council by one member, and should form two electoral divisions, one of which should comprise the magisterial districts of Vryburg, Taung, Kuruman, and Gordonia, and return two members to the house of assembly, the other to comprise the magisterial district of Mafeking, which should return one member. The act required the assent of her Majesty the queen in council, which was given on the 3rd of October 1895, and the governor was empowered to proclaim it in force.

It fell to Sir Hercules Robinson, the same governor who was connected with Betshuanaland in its stormy days, to carry the act to completion. In 1889 he had retired and been succeeded by Sir Henry Loch, who had served a full term, and he had then again been appointed governor of the Cape Colony and high commissioner. On the 30th of May 1895 he arrived in Capetown and took the oaths of office, and on the 11th of the following November he issued a proclamation fixing the 16th of November 1895 as the date when British Betshuanaland should become part of the Cape Colony.

On that day accordingly the administrator and the heads of departments retired, but the other officials remained on duty, receiving their instructions thereafter from Capetown and sending their reports to that place instead of to Vryburg. That was the only difference the annexation made to them, for all of the old offices that

were created under the crown colony government were retained, and new ones were not needed. The public debt of the province as a matter of course became part of that of the Cape Colony.

A census of the Europeans in the province taken in 1891 shows that they were then 5,254 in number, of whom 3,056 were resident in the district of Vryburg, 861 in the district of Mafeking, 735 in the district of Gordonia, 436 in the district of Taung, and 166 in the district of Kuruman.

The remainder of Betschuanaland, that is the immense territory between Ramathlabama Spruit and the Molopo river on the south, the Tshobe and Zambesi rivers on the north, the Kalahari desert on the west, and the northern part of the South African Republic and Matabeleland on the east, inhabited by the Bangwaketse, Bakwena, Bakatla, and Bamangwato tribes, with some Balala and a few scattered Masarwa and Bushmen, remained merely a British protectorate under the guidance of the high commissioner. The few European missionaries and traders in it were subject to the jurisdiction of a resident deputy commissioner, who had also the relationship of the tribes to each other and to outsiders under his control, but the chiefs were not in any way interfered with in the government of their people, nor were any taxes demanded from them.

CHAPTER XXII.

EVENTS IN THE CAPE COLONY TO THE END OF 1884.

THE question of the confederation of the South African colonies and states was at this time a prominent one, though there were few men in the country that would be affected by it who regarded it as coming within the sphere of practical politics. To the secretaries of state in England it seemed simple enough, they had the Canadian model before their eyes, and all that South Africans would have to do was to follow it. The Orange Free State would be obliged to resign its independence, for of course the united communities would be under the British flag, but that would be only a small matter, and indeed barely twenty years had passed away since that state had been eager for such a union. This was the view of the British ministers, but in point of fact there was scarcely any analogy between the condition of Canada and of South Africa.

The word confederation was capable of very different meanings. To many persons in the eastern districts of the Cape Colony it implied the separation of those districts from the remainder of the colony, their establishment under a local government, and the federation of that government with the one in Capetown for a few general purposes only. They were not anxious for the inclusion of even Natal in the scheme, for she was a rival in the trade with the interior, and they were averse to the two Dutch states being brought into it, because, in their opinion, those states were unprogressive, and would only be a

drag upon the remainder of the community. These views were, however, held by only a minority of the eastern people, and when on the 16th of July 1878 Mr. John Paterson, who represented an eastern constituency, brought on a motion in the house of assembly in favour of a conference concerning confederation, it was promptly rejected.

With a considerable section of the South African people the word meant retention of the local governments, and their union for general purposes under their own flag. In 1878 the farmers' protection association had come into existence in the Cape Colony in consequence of the passing of the excise act. But it was largely under the guidance of Mr. Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr, one of the ablest and most distinguished men the country has yet produced, who realised to the full the value of the British connection, and consequently the association expressed no desire for an independent flag. But in the following year, 1879, a society of widespread influence and great power, termed the Afrikaner bond, was founded by the reverend S. J. Dutoit, editor of the *Patriot* newspaper at the Paarl, and one of its objects was to create an independent nationality. A strong anti-British feeling had been aroused by the annexation of the Transvaal in opposition to the wishes of its people, and Mr. Dutoit was its foremost exponent. In later years, when the farmers' protection association became amalgamated with the Afrikaner bond, and Mr. Hofmeyr acquired practically the almost entire direction of the great society, it was very different, but at the time treated of in this chapter the sentiments of the bond made federation under the English flag impossible. Seven-eighths of the Transvaal people, as large a proportion of the inhabitants of the Orange Free State, and a majority of the Dutch-speaking people of the Cape Colony were opposed to it, on the ground that it would be brought about by an act of injustice. On the other

hand, federation under an independent flag was equally impossible, for it would have been resisted to the death by a section of the colonists, and would certainly not then have been sanctioned by Great Britain, as possibly it might have been a quarter of a century earlier.

There was an alternative to these plans, which was favoured by not a few of the most far-seeing men in the country, and which the Transvaal and the Orange Free State would have cordially agreed to, indeed it was what the Transvaal farmers called confederation and declared their readiness to accept. It was to add to the Cape Colony as honourable opportunities offered the thinly inhabited land on the border, to plant European settlers there, to extend the railways and telegraphs in order to make government from one centre practicable and easy, and to enter into a close alliance with the two Dutch states, leaving them their independence and their flags, while working cordially with them for the common good.* Into such a system it would be optional for Natal to enter or not, as she chose, but in fact Natal was hardly considered as of much weight in those days. The policy here outlined, however, needed time to work out, and the secretaries of state were in a hurry, so it was not considered.

On the 27th of June 1878 the legislative council of Natal met. The subject of the British ministry's plan of confederation was discussed, but no delegates to a conference were appointed, because the Cape parliament had taken no action in the matter.

* In October 1888 the Transvaal delegates when on their way to England were entertained at a banquet in Capetown, when President Kruger in the course of a speech said that what he would call a united South Africa was all the states acting together, and when one state got into trouble the others coming forward to help it. He would like to see a union extending from the Cape of Good Hope to the Zambesi, where there was no distinction of nationality whatever, but in which they all worked for the welfare of South Africa.—Report in the *Cape Argus*.

The Cape ministry now resolved to appeal to the electors on the subject, and on the 2nd of August 1878, when parliament was prorogued—to be dissolved on the 13th of September—Sir Bartle Frere in his closing speech alluded to it in the following words: "Passing events teach us the need of union, and on the eve of an appeal to the country the government desires to commend the great question of a united South Africa to the earnest attention of the constituencies of the colony. For defence, for commerce, for civilisation, for progress, the interest of every colony and state in South Africa is one. I confidently rely upon the intelligence of the country to give no uncertain sound upon the most important subject that has ever been submitted to its judgment.

Sir Michael Hicks Beach on his part continued to press the matter. In a despatch to Sir Bartle Frere of the 16th of September 1878 he wrote: "I trust that the elections which will shortly be held will result in the return of a parliament not less able and patriotic than that which has now come to an end; and more particularly that the new houses will devote their attention to the important question of confederation with a determination to overcome all obstacles to the early adoption of a measure so deeply affecting the common interests of South Africa."

The colony did not respond to the appeal made to it in the manner the governor hoped it would, but during the session of 1879, which lasted from the 21st of June to the 11th of September, the matter could not be decided, owing to the wars then being carried on.

At the opening of the session on the 7th of May 1880 the governor referred to the subject in the following words:

"The possibility of the union of the South African colonies is a subject which has engaged much of the attention of my advisers. It is preëminently a question

for the people of South Africa themselves to consider and determine, for the ultimate success of the union, if it should be resolved upon, depends upon the hearty coöperation of those who may enter into it. Papers in connection with this important matter will be laid before you, and resolutions proposed for the assembling of a conference of delegates from the various colonies interested, to consider the advisability and practicability of a union, and, if it should be deemed practicable, to ascertain its character, and to frame a report to be afterwards submitted to the legislatures of the colonies respectively represented in the conference."

The opposition to the confederation scheme of the government was strong in many parts of the colony, and was increased in the western districts and consequently in the parliament by the action of Messrs. Kruger and Joubert, the delegates from the Transvaal independence committee, who pleaded earnestly that nothing should be done to support the action of the imperial government with regard to that community. Mr. Sprigg knew that the issue was hardly doubtful, still he felt himself bound to bring the matter forward, and on the 22nd of June he moved in the house of assembly:

"1. That in the opinion of this house it is expedient that a conference of representatives be assembled to consider the existing relations of the British colonies in South Africa to each other, and to the native territories adjoining, and to ascertain the practicability, or otherwise, of a legislative and administrative union of such colonies.

"2. That such conference consist of sixteen members, viz. his Excellency the governor and high commissioner of Cape Colony as president, six members representing the Cape Colony, three members representing Griqualand West, three members representing Natal, and three members representing the Transvaal.

"3. That the conclusions arrived at by such conference be embodied in a report to be hereafter submitted to the legislatures of the colonies respectively concerned, and have no binding effect whatever on any colony until the provisions of the report shall have been confirmed by substantive resolutions passed by the legislature of that colony, and approved by her Majesty's government."

These proposals committed the parliament to very little, still the principle underlying them was objectionable to so many members that it was at once seen the scheme was doomed to failure. Mr. Fuller spoke in its favour indeed, and moved as an amendment that the Cape Colony should have nine representatives in the conference, but then Mr. Vincent moved as a further amendment: "that this house, while appreciating the interest taken by her Majesty's government in the affairs of South Africa, and while anxious to meet their wishes as far as consistent with the interests of the colony, is of opinion that the present time and the present circumstances of the British colonies in South Africa and the native territories, adjoining are not favourable to entering on the consideration of the serious additional responsibilities necessarily involved in a union with Natal and the Transvaal."

On the 25th of June both the amendments were withdrawn, and the previous question was moved and carried without a division, the ministers assenting, as the great majority of the members were opposed to the measure.

A defeat on a subject of such importance would have necessitated the resignation of the ministry, had it not been that for all other purposes they still commanded the support of a majority of the members of parliament. To test this, on the 29th of June Mr. Fleming moved that the ministry possess the confidence of the house of assembly, which was carried by thirty-five votes to two, after the opposition had withdrawn from the chamber. Again, on the 23rd of July 1880 a motion of no con-

fidence in the Sprigg ministry was lost in the house of assembly by thirty-two votes to twenty-four, and in the legislative council by thirteen votes to two.

With this the effort to promote the union under one government of the several South African communities, whose interests are identical, the habits, customs, and occupations of whose people are similar, who are one in the instinct of blood and race, came to an end for thirty years. This was the calamitous effect of an act that must be deeply regretted, and that no attempt to excuse can justify. Sir Bartle Frere was surely fully warranted in using the following words when proroguing the Cape parliament on the 30th of July:

"I regret that, owing to the unsatisfactory character of the settlement of Zululand, and the state of affairs in the Transvaal consequent upon the annexation of that country, it was not deemed advisable to proceed with the proposals for a conference to consider the practicability of a South African union. I can but express the hope that in the course of time those considerable difficulties will be removed, and an advance be made towards welding into one nation isolated communities who have now so many common interests, and who will ultimately recognise the advantage of one general government animated by a generous, comprehensive, and liberal spirit."

With this failure Sir Bartle Frere's work in South Africa came to an end. He had not done what was impossible for any man—even so grand and highly gifted a man as he—to do, he had not overcome the will of the great majority of the electors, practically all the Dutch-speaking and a considerable section of the English, who felt that the annexation of the South African Republic was not only unwise but unjust, and who would not support any measure that depended upon it. So he was recalled. On the 15th of September 1880 he embarked at Capetown in the mail steamer *Pretoria* to return to England, where he died on the 29th of May 1884.

Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson, G.C.M.G., who was then governor of New Zealand, was appointed governor of the Cape Colony and high commissioner in succession to Sir Bartle Frere. Until he could arrive, Major-General H. H. Clifford acted as administrator from the 15th to the 27th of September, and Sir George Cumine Strahan, K.C.M.G., from the 27th September 1880 to the 22nd of January 1881, when the new governor took the oaths of office.

There was now direct telegraphic communication with England by means of a submarine cable between Durban and Aden, which was commenced to be laid down from Durban on the 5th of July 1879, and was opened for use at Aden on the 29th of December of that year. It was laid down and maintained in working order by a company that received subsidies of £35,000 a year from the British government, £15,000 a year from the Cape Colony (Act 19 of 1878), £5,000 a year from Natal, voted in July 1878, and £5,000 from the Portuguese government in consideration of its connection with Delagoa Bay. At Aden it was connected with the line from England to India, so that whatever transpired in any part of the civilised world was known a few hours later throughout South Africa.

The construction of railways was making good progress in the Cape Colony, and though the public debt was increasing on this account, the burden for interest did not press upon the taxpayers, because the revenue from the railways covered the cost of their maintenance and the interest on the loans raised for their construction. They were of very great use in opening up the country to commerce and bringing the people into contact with each other. The advance of the different lines from the coast towards the interior is here shown.

Western line: Capetown to Beaufort West, three hundred and thirty-nine miles or five hundred and forty-two kilometres, opened on the 5th of February 1880; midland

line: Port Elizabeth to Graaff-Reinet, one hundred and eighty-five miles or two hundred and ninety-six kilometres, opened on the 26th of August 1879; Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown, one hundred and seven miles or one hundred and seventy-one kilometres, opened on the 3rd of September 1879; eastern line: East London to Queenstown, one hundred and fifty-four miles or two hundred and forty-six kilometres, opened on the 6th of May 1880. Altogether, with branch lines, there were nine hundred and five miles or fourteen hundred and forty-eight kilometres of railway open for traffic in the Cape Colony at the end of 1880, against sixty-three miles or one hundred and one kilometres in 1873. These lines look small on the map to-day, but in 1880 they marked great progress.

In the session of parliament from the 25th of March to the 27th of June 1881 provision was made for the extension of the three lines to the Orange river. From Beaufort West the western line was to be continued to Hopetown, from Cradock, to which town the midland line had been completed and opened on the 1st of June of that year, it was to be continued to Colesberg, and the eastern line was to be continued from Queenstown to Aliwal North. The line in the Cape peninsula also was to be extended from Wynberg to Kalk Bay. Further, a company that had been formed for the purpose was empowered to construct a railroad, uniform in gauge with the government lines, from Grahamstown to Port Alfred, and a contribution of £50,000 was made to it from the public treasury. Another great stride forward was thus made in opening up the country.

The progress in the construction of these new lines was not very rapid. On the 21st of October 1881 the first sod of the Grahamstown-Port Alfred railway was turned by Mr. J. X. Merriman, commissioner of crown lands and public works, but the line was only completed and opened for use early in 1885. The western line was completed to the Orange river at Hopetown, and was

formally opened for use by Governor Sir Hercules Robinson on the 12th of November 1884. Traffic to and from the diamond fields was greatly facilitated by the opening of this line. On the 18th of October 1883 the midland line was opened to Colesberg. On the 15th of the same month the eastern line was opened to Sterkstroom, at the foot of the Stormberg range, but it had still to be carried by way of Bushman's Hoek up the steep escarpment to the high plateau above. This was an engineering performance only excelled in the Cape Colony by the road up the Hex river kloof on the western line, and the view from the top of the range over the country below is very extensive and at sunrise or sunset is especially fine.

It required more than a year to construct the road to the plateau above Bushman's Hoek, but on the 19th of March 1885 the line was opened to Burghersdorp, and five months later, on the 19th of August, the first train reached Aliwal North, where the official opening took place on the 2nd of September. A connection between the western and midland lines was completed from De Aar to Nauwpoort in March 1884, and thereafter passengers could travel, though by this circuitous route, from Cape-town to Port Elizabeth or Grahamstown. At the end of 1884 there were in the Cape Colony one thousand three hundred and forty-five miles or two thousand one hundred and fifty kilometres of railway open for use.

The rough labour in the construction of all these lines was performed by Bantu, who had now become quite expert in the use of the pick, shovel, and wheelbarrow, though they could not perform as much work in a given time as European navvies. They were thus receiving an excellent education in the first principle of civilisation, the value of labour. They were also making use of the railways for travelling, and thus learning the value of time. A great change was taking place in the social life of these people in the colony, the men were becoming

accustomed to work and to regular habits, and the women were relieved from much of the drudgery of earlier times.

The line from Wynberg to Kalk Bay had the effect of opening up the narrow strip of ground along the base of the Steenberg as the favourite summer holiday resort of the residents of the Cape peninsula. For more than half a century, or ever since retired Indian officials began to make Wynberg their place of residence, the coolness of the air in this locality even when the heat was too great to be pleasant in Capetown had attracted visitors, and a hotel known as Farmer Peck's at the base of the eastern end of the mountain was famed all over South Africa. Here, close to the old Dutch military post Muijsenburg, or in modern spelling Muizenburg, a large village with great hotels and lodging houses speedily sprang up, and all along the foot of the mountain to Kalk Bay handsome villas began to be built, where wealthy people lived for several months of the year. It was only six miles or ten kilometres from Kalk Bay station to Simonstown, and in course of time that also was bridged by the railway, to the great convenience of the residents at the naval station and the officers and crews of the ships of war that frequented the bay.

In 1881 parliament made provision for building a bridge over the Vaal river at Barkly West, to meet the requirements of the growing trade to Betshuanaland and the country farther north.

There were now three thousand one hundred and forty miles or five thousand and twenty-four kilometres of telegraph open for use in the Cape Colony.

Among other marks of improvement at this time may be mentioned the erection of a lighthouse on Cape St. Francis, with a revolving white light, first exhibited on the 4th of July 1878, the construction of a good road through Garcia's pass in the Langeberg, which was opened

for traffic in November 1879, and the formation of the magisterial district of Aberdeen on the 26th of February 1880.

The harbour works in Table Bay were being pushed on as rapidly as possible, but in 1878 the breakwater was still not sufficiently advanced to protect all the vessels at anchor from huge waves rolling in before north-west gales, and in July of that year five were driven ashore in a storm, when four lives were lost. At the same time two vessels were wrecked at Port Elizabeth. These were the last disasters arising from want of shelter in Table Bay, however, for during the next two years the breakwater was so far extended that any vessel could lie in perfect safety behind it.

Occasionally vessels were wrecked on the South African coast, but as there were lighthouses on the most dangerous points along the southern shore, such terrible disasters as occurred in the olden times seldom took place. The year 1881 was an exceptionally unfortunate one in this respect.

On the 31st of December 1880 the British barque *Lancastria*, that had anchored in the most exposed position in Table Bay, was driven from it by a violent gale from the south-east, and as no attempt was made to put to sea, which could have been done without the slightest difficulty, she was allowed to drift upon the coast a little north of Robben Island. There on the following day she became a complete wreck, and two lives were lost.

On the 26th of July 1881 three vessels were driven ashore in a gale at East London, and became wrecks. Thirty men were drowned, and only one was saved.

On the 28th of the same month the American ship *Calcutta* ran ashore at the mouth of the Xora, not far south of the Bashee river. There was a very heavy surf at the time, in which she was soon battered to pieces. Only three men managed to reach the shore alive, and thirteen were drowned.

Sadder still was the loss of the Union Company's steamer *Teuton*. This fine ship left Hamburg on the 20th of July and Southampton on the 5th of August 1881, with cargo and passengers for different South African ports. Having landed the passengers for Capetown and discharged some cargo there, on the 30th of August she left Table Bay with two hundred passengers for Port Elizabeth, East London, and Durban, among whom were several families of immigrants who intended to proceed from Port Elizabeth to the Knysna. Some hours later she struck on the outer end of the reef at Quoin Point, west of Cape Agulhas. She got off, but with a rent in her bow, through which the water poured faster than it could be pumped out. The ship was built with eight watertight compartments, and as only one of these was filling no immediate danger was apprehended, so she was put about and steered along the coast for Simon's Bay. The weather was fine, and the sea was perfectly smooth. For four hours all went well, but then the ship's bow sank so low that the screw was out of water, and she was motionless. The captain ordered the boats to be got out, but this was hardly commenced when the front bulkhead must have given way, for the ship suddenly plunged and went down. There were two hundred and sixty-two souls on board, and of these all but thirty-five men and one young girl were drowned.

On the 16th of December the German barque *Albatross* was wrecked in Algoa Bay, happily without any loss of life.

After the conclusion of the war with Morosi, when it was hoped that an era of peace had set in, immigration from Europe was resumed, but as yet only a few individuals had arrived from Great Britain. A larger number were received from Hamburg, who found no difficulty in obtaining what was to them a fairly comfortable living, with a good prospect of advancement in fortune at no distant time.

It had been resolved to build handsome and commodious houses of parliament in the lower part of the ground attached to government house in Capetown, opposite the public library, and a design having been approved of, on the 12th of May 1875 the foundation stone of the granite basement was laid with much ceremony by Governor Sir Henry Barkly in presence of a great concourse of people. The trowel which he used was made of South African gold and ivory. But the work had not proceeded very far when it was stopped through fear that it was not sufficiently firm, and it was not taken in hand again until 1880. It was intended to be the grandest building in South Africa, and therefore much time was needed for its construction. With the exception of the western wing, which was added in 1909, it was completed by the end of 1884, and was first used when parliament met on the 15th of May 1885.

Sir Hercules Robinson was absent in Natal and the Transvaal from the 4th of May to the 24th of August 1881, and during that time Lieutenant-General Sir Leicester Smyth, who was in chief command of the British troops in South Africa, acted as administrator, with the title of deputy for the governor.

On the 30th of November 1881 Mr. Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr resigned as minister without portfolio, which was a serious loss to the party in power. He was not in full accord with his colleagues as to the policy to be carried out in Basutoland, but otherwise continued to support them.

By this time the mail steamers arrived from England in Table Bay every week after a passage of between eighteen and nineteen days, and the intermediate ships of the same companies arrived just as regularly twenty-one days after leaving Southampton. In 1881 another company entered into competition for the cargo and passenger traffic to and from South Africa. This was the Clan line, which is still in existence, whose first steamer left England on the 1st of September 1881,

On the 17th of March 1882 parliament was opened. According to the constitution English was the only language that could be used in debate, and this was naturally felt by the bulk of the country people as a grievance. They could not know what was going on, they complained, as all the proceedings of the legislative bodies took place in a language that was foreign to them. This was not quite correct, because abstracts of the debates were published in the Dutch newspapers, still the grievance was real, for the home language of a majority of the civilised inhabitants of the colony was prohibited in public affairs.

In the preceding year a good many petitions had been presented to the house of assembly in favour of permitting the use of Dutch, and the matter had been briefly discussed, but as the session was then drawing to a close, it did not come to a vote. During the recess much interest was taken throughout the colony in the movement, and so many petitions were signed and forwarded as soon as parliament met again, that it was certain a majority of the electors felt strongly on the subject.

On the 30th of March Mr. Hofmeyr moved in the house of assembly: "that in the opinion of this house it is desirable that the eighty-ninth section of the constitution ordinance be so amended as to allow members of parliament the optional use of the Dutch language in addressing either house of the legislature." This was carried by a large majority, so on the 17th of April the prime minister, Mr. Scanlen, who fully approved of it, brought in a bill to carry it into effect. On the 24th of April it was read the second time, on the 28th was passed through committee, and on the 1st of May was read the third time and finally passed. This was a simple act of justice, and as such merits commendation, but it cannot be said that the tone of debate in parliament was improved by it. Members whose ordinary

language was Dutch when they wished to make an impression on the house continued to speak in English, because nearly every one present was quite conversant with that language, while the majority of the English members understood no tongue but their own.

The first member to take advantage of the new rule was Mr. J. C. Luttig, who represented Beaufort West in the house of assembly. On the 13th of June he expressed his gratification at being able to use his mother tongue in the house, but did not employ it further in debate.

This was, however, only a beginning. It was followed in 1884 by legalising the use of Dutch in the courts of law and in public schools, and finally making it compulsory on most of the members of the civil service to understand and speak both the languages in general use in the country.

In the session of 1882 an act was passed giving two additional members to the electoral division of Kimberley, thus bringing the whole number in the house of assembly up to seventy-four.

On the 1st of July 1882 Mr. Molteno resigned as colonial secretary, in order to be able to spend the evening of his life in peaceful retirement. This necessitated changes in the ministry, so Mr. Scanlen took the vacant office, and Advocate James Weston Leonard became attorney-general.

At this time the dreaded disease small-pox made its appearance in Capetown, where on the 26th of June 1882 two cases were discovered in one of the poorest streets. It was never ascertained to a certainty how it originated or was brought there. All possible precautions were at once taken, and every one who was known to have been in contact with the persons affected was isolated on Paarden Island near the mouth of Salt River, but the disease rapidly spread. In August it appeared in the suburbs, and in September four hundred and thirty-five

individuals died from it in the city alone. The Moham-edans who on religious grounds refused to be vaccinated and who persisted in carrying their dead uncoffined to the cemeteries, were the principal sufferers. The light brown Javanese, or Malays as they were commonly termed, almost entirely disappeared, and they have never since recovered anything like their former strength. There are many Mohamedans in the Cape peninsula still, the men can be distinguished at once by the red fez on their heads, but most of them are recent immigrants, and the gorgeously dressed women and the men in turbans and heavy conical head coverings like parasols with the rim turned out, so common in the olden times, are hardly ever seen now. The small-pox in 1882 practically exterminated them.

When the warm weather set in the disease abated, and by the middle of November it was supposed to have died out in the town, where one thousand one hundred and forty-six individuals had died from it, but it still lingered in the suburbs, and as soon as the hot weather was over it broke out at Kimberley. There, with blacks constantly coming and going, it was most difficult to deal with, though they willingly submitted to be vaccinated. After some months it was believed to have subsided, but in the winter of 1884 it appeared again at Dutoitspan, and on this occasion spread to the Barolong tribe in the Orange Free State and to Basutoland. It caused the death of many Bantu at these places—the exact number is unknown—but at length it was overcome or died out.

In the session of the Cape parliament, 27th of June to the 28th of September 1883, a very useful act was passed for the establishment of post office savings banks throughout the colony.

Mr. Saul Solomon, whose health had completely broken down, was much missed in the house of assembly, where he had been regarded by friend and opponent alike as the ablest debater since the retirement of Mr. William Porter.

He went to England in hope of regaining some strength, but was unsuccessful, and lingered on in debility until the 16th of October 1892, when he died at Bedford. He was the most conspicuous example that South Africa has yet known of what a powerful and healthy mind can do to overcome defects of the body. Another man, whose name was destined to be more widely known than Mr. Solomon's, was now becoming prominent. This was Mr. Cecil John Rhodes, who afterwards proved himself capable of undertaking gigantic enterprises of different kinds and carrying them all successfully through. On the 20th of March 1884 he became treasurer of the colony, the honourable C. W. Hutton having lost his seat in the recent election.

On the 31st of December 1883 there was a faction fight with pick handles between Zulu and Fingo labourers on the railway works at De Aar, in which about a thousand men were engaged. Quarrels of this kind were common between members of different tribes, but none on such a large scale had occurred before at a distance from their homes. Fifty-six men were killed, and many more were wounded. As it was feared that the quarrel might be renewed, a strong volunteer force was sent from Capetown to restore order, but upon its arrival at De Aar everything was found perfectly quiet, and the workmen were hardly troubling themselves about the recent fray. To them it seemed to be a not very objectionable mode of celebrating a holiday.

On the 10th of January 1884 there was an explosion of thirty-three tons of dynamite and a large quantity of gunpowder at Kimberley. This was sufficient to have destroyed the town if the locality of the explosion had been slightly different, but fortunately surprisingly little damage was done by it.

The session of parliament, 2nd of May to the 19th of July 1884, was an eventful one. A project of the ministers to transfer to the imperial government the whole of the Transkeian territories, to be added to Basutoland and

thereafter form a dependency on a small scale like India, was exceedingly unpopular, and everyone knew that upon its introduction in the house of assembly the position of the ministry would be precarious. It was admitted by everyone that the scheme would relieve the colony of responsibility as well as of a heavy burden, but it would practically be an admission that the colonists were either unfit or too weak to manage their own affairs. That was the real cause of the falling off of support to Mr. Scanlen, though as it never came before parliament, it was not the ostensible cause of his resignation.

In the alarm caused by the danger of phylloxera destroying all the vineyards in the colony, in 1881 a proclamation had been issued by the governor prohibiting the importation of any plants, roots, or tubers whatever. It was still hoped that by this means and the complete destruction of all the vines known to be affected, the plague might be stamped out. Mr. Scanlen, however, was of opinion that certain plants could be imported with due precautions, without danger of their introducing phylloxera, and before parliament met at his instance the governor issued a proclamation to that effect. As soon as the session was opened this matter came on for discussion. Most of the members spoke in favour of the retention in full force of the proclamation of 1881, and though Mr. Scanlen proposed to suspend the operation of the recent proclamation until the house had an opportunity of expressing a judgment upon such measures as might be necessary for protecting the interests of the country, he found only ten supporters, while forty-seven opposed him. He accepted this as a vote of want of confidence, and on the 7th of May tendered his resignation.

The governor then invited Mr. Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr, "onze (our) Jan," as he was commonly called, the man of greatest influence in the assembly at the time, to form a ministry, but he declined to do so. He realised that to retain the confidence and the affection of his countrymen,

he must not openly assume such a prominent position, that the proper course for him to pursue was to avoid the responsibility of power while actually exercising it. No cabinet could exist for a week without his support while parliament was in session, and therefore he would be as much master of the situation out of office as in it.

The governor then turned to Advocate Thomas Upington, who had been a member of Mr. Sprigg's ministry. He accepted the invitation, and took office as premier and attorney-general, with Mr. Jonathan Ayliff* as colonial secretary, Mr. John Gordon Sprigg as treasurer, Mr. Frederick Shermbrucker as commissioner of crown lands and public works, and Mr. Jacobus Albertus de Wet as secretary for native affairs. On the 13th of May 1884 the new ministers took the oath of office, and commenced duty.

Under these circumstances, not much business of importance was transacted during this session. The rivalry of Natal for the trade of the eastern portion of the Orange Free State, however, caused an act to be passed granting to importers in that republic a rebate on goods passing through the custom houses of the Cape Colony and forwarded in unbroken packages by the railways towards the interior as far as they extended.

In all parts of the colony improvements were now being made more rapidly than at any former period. In Capetown this was especially noticeable, though the city still remained very far short of what it is at the present day. In July 1881 the Molteno reservoir was opened, which it had been fondly hoped would have stored a sufficient supply of water for many years to come, allowing for a progressive increase in the population. It had cost £60,000 and had taken four years to construct. But it proved to be faulty, and though engineering skill and large sums of money have since been expended in improving it, it has

* After holding office a short time Mr. Ayliff's health broke down so completely that he was obliged to resign, and on the 4th of March 1885 he was succeeded by Mr. John Tudhope.

never fully realised the expectations originally held regarding it. On the 12th of October 1881 the railway station in Adderley street was for the first time lit by electricity, which answered so well that it was soon generally adopted. On the 25th of April 1882 the docks were for the first time made as easy to work in by night as by day by the brilliant electric light.

On the 20th of October 1882 the graving dock was formally opened for use by the governor with the ceremony usual on such an occasion. The Union Company's steamer *Athenian*, one of the largest in their fleet, which needed some repairs, entered it during the ceremony. On the 17th of March 1883 the Standard Bank building in Adderley street was opened for use. Though it is now dwarfed in height by the General Post Office on one side and Cartwright's Mansion House on the other, in 1883 it was a very prominent building, and was the largest and finest structure used for banking in South Africa.

It became necessary to close the cemeteries on the eastern side of Somerset road, which had been in use since 1755, and consequently were filled with the dead. The city had extended beyond them, so that they could not be enlarged, even if the site had not been objectionable for sanitary reasons. There was much discussion as to the best place for new graveyards, but at length a large tract of open ground at Maitland was selected, and after several extensions of time, to enable the new site to be properly prepared, on the 15th of January 1886 the Somerset road cemeteries were finally closed.

In November 1884 a commencement was made with laying down a cable in the Atlantic to connect South Africa with England, thus giving an alternative line of communication to that along the eastern coast.

In September 1884 an industrial exhibition was opened in Capetown, but it was more a display of what might be done than of what really is done in South Africa. For instance, a piano made in the Free State was

exhibited, and diamond cutting was carried on to show the process. Still there were some good displays of colonial produce, and the exhibition on the whole was made so attractive that a large number of people from the country visited it. It was closed on the 13th of October.

In England, where the people, though of mixed blood, have been blended into one nationality and all speak the same language, political party associations are useful to keep each other in check and to cause emulation in the general welfare of the country. But it is different in the Cape Colony, where the Europeans are of two nationalities, speaking different languages, and where conciliation on both sides is needed to prevent political discord and strife. By the majority of the English people at this time the Afrikaner Bond was accused of keeping sores open by its championship of the interests of the Dutch-speaking inhabitants, and now, in September 1884, an association termed the Empire League was formed in Capetown purposely to oppose it. Occurrences then taking place in Betshuanaland had much to do with its origin, for national feeling was so strongly excited that men of extreme views lost the power of keeping calm. But the Empire League did not have a long life. As soon as passion cooled, people began to reflect that such an association was only provoking redoubled exertion on the part of the Bond and widening the chasm between the two sections of the community, so its most sensible members withdrew their support, and the others, finding it impossible to maintain it with any pretension to dignity or influence, allowed it to disappear.

On the 10th of August 1883 the death took place in England of the venerable Dr. Robert Moffat, the translator of the bible into Setshuana, who laboured in South Africa from 1817 to 1870 as a missionary of the London society, the greater part of that time at Kuruman. He had attained the age of nearly eighty-eight years. In this country he was known for devotion to his duty and

freedom from those strong national prejudices which were characteristic of many of the early missionaries of the London society. Abroad his name was familiar through his interesting and useful book *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, which was published in London in 1842, and is a standard work of reference upon the first missions to the Betshuana tribes and the condition of those people at the time.

Another man who was deservedly held in esteem throughout South Africa, the honourable Robert Godlonton, was in his ninetieth year when he died on the 30th of May 1884. Mr. Godlonton was one of the British settlers of 1820, and made Grahamstown his home from that time onward. He was called the father of the press in the eastern province, for he was the proprietor and editor of the *Grahamstown Journal* and was part proprietor of newspapers in Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, King-Williamstown, and Queenstown. Long a member of the legislative council, he was known as holding strong eastern views, but as being scrupulously fair to those who opposed him. Seven different volumes or thick pamphlets, most of them relating to the Kaffir wars or the struggles of the British settlers, were written by him and published at different times.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EVENTS IN NATAL AND THE ORANGE FREE STATE TO THE END OF 1884.

SIR HENRY BULWER retired from the lieutenant-governorship of Natal on the 20th of April 1880, and for a few days Lieutenant-Colonel William Bellairs acted as administrator. On the 5th of May Major-General H. H. Clifford took over the duty, and carried on the government until the 2nd of July, when Major-General Sir George Pomeroy Colley arrived and took the oaths of office as governor of Natal and high commissioner for South-Eastern Africa. He was also commander-in-chief of her Majesty's forces in the country.

In the legislative council in February 1880 an address to the crown had been moved praying for the grant of responsible government. All of the elected members present and four of the nominee members voted in favour of the measure, so that it was carried by fifteen votes to nine. In September the nominee members who had been added to the council five years before would lose their seats, and it was hoped that responsible government might then be introduced. But the English ministry did not think it prudent to favour the request, and the only change that took place was the restoration of the council to its condition before 1875. In December 1880 the council agreed to refund to the British treasury £250,000 on account of the cost of the Zulu war.

In this colony there were now railway lines in working order, from Durban to Verulam, nineteen miles or thirty kilometres in length, opened for traffic on the 1st of

September 1879, a branch from the main line five miles or eight kilometres from Durban, to Isipingo, six miles or nearly ten kilometres in length, opened for traffic on the 21st of February 1880, and from Durban to Maritzburg, seventy-one miles or nearly one hundred and fourteen kilometres in length, completed and opened for use on the 1st of December 1880.

European immigrants in larger numbers than before the Zulu war were being brought into the country through the agency of the land and immigration board, under a system by which residents could nominate individuals in Great Britain on guaranteeing their employment after arrival. When opening the legislative council on the 21st of October 1880, the governor was able to state that seven hundred and thirty-four had already arrived in that year, as compared with two hundred and eighty-seven in 1879. Among them was a party of twenty-three families, numbering about one hundred and fifty souls, who were brought out under special arrangements, and in July 1880 were located on a farm named Wilgefontein, about five miles or eight kilometres from Maritzburg. These people had been carefully selected in England, and each head of a family had at least £100 in money. The farm was divided into plots of forty to one hundred and sixty acres in size, and according to the quality of the ground these plots were assigned to the immigrants at charges of £60 to £328 each. The distribution was made by lot. The government defrayed the cost of the passage of the immigrants from their former homes to the ground they were to occupy, and they were then left to provide for themselves.

At the same time a larger number of Indians than of Europeans were being introduced as labourers, and very few of them availed themselves of the right to a return passage to the country of their birth upon the expiration of their term of service. They were thus added to the permanent inhabitants of Natal.

Sir George Colley was killed on the 27th of February 1881, and Brigadier-General Sir Evelyn Wood, the military officer next in rank, who had only arrived at Durban sixteen days before, then became acting administrator of Natal. During his absence on duty connected with the Transvaal and Zululand from the 3rd of April to the 9th of August Lieutenant-Colonel F. Redvers Buller filled the position. On the 22nd of December 1881 Sir Evelyn Wood left to return to England, when Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Bullen Hugh Mitchell, the colonial secretary, became acting administrator.

Now that peace was supposed to have been restored in the Transvaal and Zululand, the imperial authorities considered it unnecessary to send out a man of high rank to carry on the government of Natal, especially as the salary attached to the office was then only £2,500 a year. On the 17th of November 1881 Mr. Sendall, an able and deserving official, but who had never filled a position of much importance, was appointed lieutenant-governor. As soon as this became known, there was a general outburst of indignation throughout the colony. To be reduced to the level of a petty West Indian island was something that wounded the pride of the people, who regarded themselves as the most enterprising community in South Africa, and before whose eyes was constantly floating the prospect of a brilliant position in the future. The legislative council, which was then in session, reflected the sentiments of the people. It resolved to provide a salary of £4,000 a year if a man with experience and suitable status should be appointed governor. The imperial authorities then gave way. Mr. Sendall was provided for in a different manner, and Sir Henry Ernest Bulwer was sent out with the full rank of governor. On the 6th of March 1882 he arrived and took the oaths of office, to the great satisfaction of the colonists.

Almost the first act of Sir Henry Bulwer (10th of March 1882) was to dissolve the legislative council, in order that

the electors might decide upon the question of responsible government. The colonists had represented that Natal was the only community in South Africa that did not enjoy self rule, and Earl Kimberley in reply had offered to grant them the privilege, provided they were prepared to undertake their own defence completely. They had hoped that Great Britain would preserve order in Zululand, and that a considerable number of the Bantu refugees south of the Tugela would return to that country again, as soon as they were assured of the safety of their lives and property. But they had been sadly disappointed, for Great Britain declined to interfere in any way beyond the Zulu reserve, and there was no exodus of blacks from Natal. All was confusion and strife in Northern Zululand, and at any time bands of fugitives might cross the border. This circumstance was the determining factor in the elections of 1882. The people realised that it would be impossible for them unaided to defend the colony, and that European immigration which was so desirable and necessary for its advancement would cease if they were left to protect themselves, so the majority voted against the introduction of responsible government.

On the 8th of June the newly elected legislative council met. It decided that the colony with its small European population was not ripe for self government, if that implied its own entire protection, but it resolved to enlarge the franchise, to increase the number of members, and to request the imperial government to continue to maintain a strong garrison. There were then two battalions of infantry, the forty-first and the fifty-eighth, and one of cavalry, the sixth Inniskilling dragoons, in Natal and the Zulu reserve.

The Franchise Amendment Act which was then passed gave the right to vote to lodgers resident three years in the colony and earning £8 a month.

The Constitution Amendment Act provided that the legislative council should consist of thirty members, of

whom twenty-three were to be elected, five were to be the official heads of departments, and two to be nominated by the governor from colonists of standing possessing land worth £1,000. The counties of Pietermaritzburg and Victoria and the boroughs of Pietermaritzburg and Durban were each to return three members, the counties of Klip River, Weenen, Umvoti, and Durban, and the division of Newcastle were each to return two members, and the united counties of Alexandra and Alfred were to return one member.

Having passed these acts, on the 25th of August the legislative council was prorogued.

The acts were reserved by the governor for the approval of her Majesty the queen, which was given on the 14th of February 1883, when they became of force.

In order that members might be simultaneously elected under the new law, on the 3rd of April 1883 the council was dissolved, having held only one session. The elections then took place, the two new nominee members, who were chosen on account of their knowledge of Bantu customs and the interest they were known to take in the welfare of the black people, were appointed, and on the 5th of July 1883 the enlarged council met for the first time. It continued in session until the 24th of October, but passed no acts needing special notice.

Of the different peoples of Europe none are more adapted to succeed in British colonies than the Scandinavians, and none become more quickly assimilated. It was therefore with much satisfaction that among the immigrants of 1882 thirty-six families of Norwegians were received in Natal. They arrived in August of this year, and had plots of ground assigned to them at Marburg in Alfred county.

The extension of the railway to the interior to facilitate trade with the two republics now occupied more of the attention of the colonists than political questions. Early in 1882, before the arrival of Sir Henry Bulwer, the

council accepted a tender of Mr. James Perry, of London, for the construction of a line from Maritzburg to Lady-smith, and surveys were being made to ascertain the best way to get to the top of the Drakensberg.

To ascertain what could be done to promote friendly relations between Natal and the Orange Free State it was arranged by the two governments that a conference should take place at Harrismith. As representatives of Natal Messrs. J. W. Ackerman, H. Escombe, and T. C. Crowley were appointed, and as representatives of the Free State three members of the volksraad. On the 31st of March 1884 the conference opened, and during four days matters of various tendencies were discussed. This led afterwards to arrangements mutually beneficial for the construction of a railroad to Harrismith, the payment to the Free State government of a share of the customs duties on goods passing through Natal, and other matters, but nothing binding was immediately effected, as the conference was purely consultative.

On the 2nd of January 1884 the largest local industrial exhibition that had then been held in Natal was opened in Durban by Governor Sir Henry Bulwer. The show of horses, cattle of different breeds, sheep, pigs, dairy produce, bacon, and poultry was excellent, and was a proof that all kinds of animals could be reared in the colony to perfection. The variety of vegetables and fruit and the quality of these productions could not be excelled in any part of the world. As for flowers, the show was like a glimpse of fairyland, so beautiful and so varied in colour were they. Tobacco in leaf and manufactured, superior in flavour to any but the very best imported, was to be seen, preserved fruits, jams, marmalade, pickles, preserved ginger, arrowroot, and much besides attested that only European immigrants, with a moderate amount of capital, skill, and energy would be needed to make this fair land with its healthy climate and productive soil one of the most thriving of the British overseas posses-

sions. Sugar and treacle were there, and also tea, then coming into prominence through the exertions of Mr. J. Liege Hulett.

Another article that has since risen to be one of the chief assets of Natal was coal, of which some excellent specimens were exhibited. Already it was beginning to be recognised that when the railway was open to the coal fields and the harbour was made capable of admitting ocean steamships, a great and lucrative industry must come into being, by extracting, forwarding, and supplying fuel. And both railway and harbour works were then advancing towards completion, so surely the prospects of Natal were bright.

Of course there were drawbacks, for neither animal nor plant life is immune from disease, and the skill of civilised man is needed to combat the various plagues that from time to time make their appearance. In a genial climate insect life in countless variety abounds, such as is unknown in countries where for months together every year the land is frozen hard or is covered with snow. Between insects and man there is perpetual war, for they are always busy destroying the fruits of his industry. Remedies are ultimately discovered, but it sometimes happens that a pest will cause enormous damage while the necessary investigations into its mode of existence are being made. Thus cotton and coffee, once so promising, had disappeared from being productions of Natal. And in 1884 redwater had already created havoc with the horned cattle in this colony, and was then sweeping off the herds in Kaffraria and causing widespread alarm in the eastern districts of the Cape Colony.

In the session of the legislative council, 12th of June to the 26th of September 1884, the question of responsible government was again discussed, when the conclusion arrived at was to endeavour to obtain as large a measure of self rule as possible while preserving the benefit of military protection by Great Britain.

Any old resident absent from Natal for a few years and then returning would at once be struck by the great improvements recently made, especially in Durban. On landing at the Point he would notice that the shifting sand hills once to be seen there had been removed, that the ground had been levelled (in 1882), and many buildings erected on it. He would be conveyed to the town on a tram line, opened for use on the 7th of March 1881. On his arrival there he would find that the principal streets, once bare sand through which wheel vehicles were drawn with difficulty, had been hardened and provided with paved sidewalks as neat and smooth as Regent street in London. He would see the handsomest public building in all South Africa, with the single exception of the houses of parliament in Capetown, the town hall, of which the foundation stone was laid with due ceremony by Governor Sir Henry Bulwer on the 1st of February 1883, and which cost £49,063 when completed, so nearly ready for use that it was opened on the 28th of October 1885 by the same governor with much festivity. On all sides he would observe churches and offices and stores and shops that he had no remembrance of, and on the Berea his eyes would rest on handsome villas in gardens with flowering shrubs more beautiful than any in the foreign lands he had visited. He would see too a vacant space, soon, however, to be covered with finer buildings than before, where in the evening of the 4th of September 1884 a fire took place which destroyed property valued at £50,000. The fire originated in the back premises of Messrs. Adler Brothers between Smith and West streets, and destroyed the Durban Institutes, Mr. Escombe's buildings, and several others. Fortunately the evening was calm, or the damage would have been greater still.

Very old residents would remember that when Durban was founded the Bluff was occupied by a remnant of the Amatuli that had managed to live in concealment

there during the general destruction of the Natal tribes in the wars of Tshaka. In 1852 Umnini, its chief, consented to its removal to a location on the bank of the Ilvo, where it would be freer and less exposed to fall into bad habits than in a suburb of a European town, and there in March 1883 he died.

In Maritzburg the improvements were not so prominent as in Durban, still they were constantly being made. On the 29th of July 1881 the waterworks there were opened for use. On the 11th of October 1883 a monument to the memory of the men who fell in the Zulu war was unveiled in this town by Sir Henry Bulwer.

On the 21st of April 1881 Mr. Jacobus Nicolaas Boshof, one of the pioneer emigrants from the Cape Colony, from whose communications to the newspapers much information concerning early events in Natal can be obtained, died at Maritzburg. He had once been a man of great influence with the emigrants, and had been the second president of the Orange Free State, but when he resigned that position and accepted office under the British government in Natal, the ties of sympathy between them and him were weakened, and he soon came to be almost forgotten in the two republics. There is no reason to believe, however, that his affection for his country and his people had ceased, only he had come to believe that they needed a stronger government than they could establish of themselves.

On the 20th of June 1883 the right reverend Dr. John William Colenso, bishop of Natal, died at his residence Bishopstowe, about eight miles or thirteen kilometres east of Maritzburg. He had done more than any other man of his time to bring Natal prominently before the English-speaking people throughout the world, for everywhere the controversy created by his writings and the events that followed it were matters of intense interest. Perhaps a more conscientious man never lived, certainly a more fearless one when maintaining what he

believed to be right never did. For public opinion he cared nothing, when opposed by nearly every other Christian clergyman in Natal in the matter of Langa-libalele he continued on his course of action without the slightest deviation. His championship of the Bantu whether they were right or wrong arose from his feeling that they needed protection, as they were unable to defend themselves. To him it was advocating the cause of the helpless weak against the arrogant action of the strong, surely a noble motive of conduct. But his judgment in this respect was not always correct, and indeed want of judgment was his weakest point. Before his eyes in many a Bantu kraal an increase of population was going on equal to that which he pronounced to be impossible in the case of the Israelites in Egypt, and he did not see it. His industry was ceaseless, and the quantity of manuscript that he prepared was almost marvellous. His venerable figure was much missed by the Europeans in Natal, and more so by the Bantu there and in Zululand, who held him in the highest regard.

Little more than a year passed away after his death when Bishopstowe—Ekukanyeni, the abode of light, as it was called in the Zulu tongue—was destroyed by fire. On the 2nd of September 1884 during a violent gale a veld fire swept everything before it, and hurled burning grass upon the thatched buildings of Bishopstowe, which were at once alight. The inmates escaped with their lives, but hardly anything could be saved.

The Bantu population of Natal had now been for half a century in contact with European civilisation, and during a large portion of that time Christian missionaries had been labouring among them, while their intertribal feuds were not permitted to lead to slaughter, and loss of life on charges of dealing in witchcraft was almost suppressed. It was only when supposed wizards or witches were quietly done away with that people now

perished for this imaginary offence. The ancient checks upon rapid increase of population were thus removed, and as the customs and habits of these people were not otherwise interfered with, they lived in Natal in what was to them the nearest approach to an earthly paradise to be found in any part of South Africa. It is therefore important to know what effect this condition of things had upon the Bantu, and to learn what progress towards civilisation they were making under it.

If happiness is the standard to measure by, they ought according to our ideas to have been happier in 1884 than they were at a time when they were constantly at war and life was never safe for a single day. If one had asked them they would unhesitatingly have said that it was better to have plenty to eat and to sleep in safety than to be hungry and always watchful against a foe. And yet at the bottom of their hearts the great majority of them were discontented, and spoke among themselves of the pleasant times of their ancestors, not of their own. It may be that the monotony of existence under the British peace palled upon them, that they needed some occasional excitement to make them realise their advantages at the time. Or was it that in common with human beings everywhere, they could never be fully satisfied, and as they were not given to speculate upon the future, reflected only upon the enjoyments of the past and forgot its sorrows?

Their wants were few compared with those of Europeans, and with very little exertion they could obtain everything they required. That was the real reason why they would not work steadily, why the Europeans were obliged to go to India for labourers while many thousands of stalwart men were living in perfect idleness close by. The black man could work, and work hard, when he had an object in view in doing so, but he was not inclined to exert himself from mere distaste for repose. Why should he? The European, whose ancestors for countless generations

have lived in a cold climate, and who have been compelled to toil or perish, has inherited a stock of energy that makes idleness wearisome to him, but the black man's progenitors always lived in a sunny land, where clothing was not needed and where the necessities for existence were easily obtained. This reasoning, however, must not be carried too far, for from his mother he inherited strong muscles and sinews, since from the most remote times the African woman was a drudge. It was more from tradition and custom that the men were led to believe they were born to be warriors and herdsmen, and from the absence of any stimulus to labour, that the Bantu in Natal were as a rule unwilling to take service with the Europeans.

From the time of the first appearance of white traders in the country the black man saw the advantage of having an iron pot, a steel axe, and a tinder box, and to get possession of these he was willing to work for a few days. His vanity also induced him to exert himself to obtain brass wire and flat copper bars to make arm-lets of, and beads to decorate his person. It was only gradually that his wants extended. To become the possessor of a gun, the symbol of manhood, became the greatest inducement to labour yet known, and after it was obtained a saddle and bridle and a plough came to be desired. The wants of the Bantu now increased fast. Woollen blankets began to take the place of fur karosses, and European clothing began to be worn. This was the stage at which the Bantu of Natal generally speaking had arrived in 1884. Though many of their cattle had died from redwater, their losses had not then had much effect upon them. The almost complete destruction of their herds from rinderpest and east coast fever, which since that date has operated powerfully in forcing them to change the whole course of their lives, was still in the future. There was still amasi (fermented milk) in all the kraals, and in the evenings the men

were still to be seen milking their cows, drawing off the contents of their milk bags for consumption, and replenishing them with that just taken from the animals.

The governor, in his capacity as supreme chief, exercised the right of calling out as many men as were needed at any time to make or repair roads, or perform any other public work of a simple kind. This was done through the agency of the chiefs, each of whom was called upon to furnish a certain number of men at a specified rate of pay, which was always low. The principle of this custom was never objected to, because it was a recognised right of every chief to require his followers to work for him without other payment than their food—in some cases not even that—and the only grievance complained of in this system was that some of the chiefs used it to oppress men who were not in their favour by calling them out time after time, and allowing others to escape altogether. The governors made it a rule not to require more than one man out of seven in a clan to do public work at the same time, and left it to the local chiefs to make the selection.

There was not now much difficulty in getting men to work, even for several months together, when they could associate in large numbers, such as in the construction of railroads. Young men who possessed few or no cattle had found out that in this way they could obtain the means to get wives, a discovery to them of much importance. Still there was a disinclination to take service with individuals, where companionship with their fellows was wanting, and where the wages offered were in general low. There was an exception to this rule in the case of houseboys, a form of service that seemed to have an attraction for big lads, and in many European families they were the only servants obtainable. They performed the ordinary duties of housemaids, and fairly chuckled over such work as dusting a room or making a bed, which appealed to the comic side of their nature. Attired

in their employers' cast-off clothing, they soon learned to do plain cooking, and made careful nurses for young children.

There had been a good many converts to Christianity, though upon the great mass of the people the influence of the missionaries had not made itself deeply felt. They were somewhat bewildered by the great variety of form in which the white man's religion was put before them. There were presbyterian, independent, English episcopal, Wesleyan, Lutheran, and Roman catholic missionaries working among them, who came from England, Scotland, America, Germany, and Scandinavia. Probably if an equal number of men of any one of these communions had worked there alone the effect would have been much greater. The Americans were longest in the field, and the Roman catholics were the latest to arrive, though the great industrial mission conducted by the Trappists from Germany was on such a scale that it bade fair to have a greater effect upon the people than any of the others.

There were thoroughly good trustworthy men among the converts, and they lived as far as possible after the manner of Europeans, but with some of them—if not with all—the new religion was only a graft upon the old, which was not entirely displaced. Ancestral spirits still hovered over the professors of the new faith, and there can be little doubt that if European influence should be withdrawn, the form of Christianity that would be evolved would differ considerably from that professed by any white community. And still the bible might be retained, and appealed to as an unerring guide. This is a delicate subject to write of, and most of the missionaries will very likely disagree with what is here stated, but the author of this volume relies on his own experience.

In the numerous mission schools the children were receiving instruction from books, and were learning habits of order and neatness as well as the principles of the

Christian faith. The hopes for the future advancement of the people in civilisation rested more upon such children than upon the conversion of adults, though these were not neglected.

The Bantu were governed according to their own customs, which had been codified as laws, but provision was made for those among them who were desirous of coming under the colonial law to do so. They were obliged to undergo a long probation, and to go through certain forms, after which their names were published in the *Government Gazette*, when they became subject to European law alone. A considerable number availed themselves of this right, which proved they were in down-right earnest in trying to become civilised, for their freedom was much restricted by the change. For instance, they could have as many wives as they chose under Bantu law, and the inheritance of their children was regulated according to their ancient custom; but as soon as their names were gazetted they could be severely punished for bigamy, and though they could bequeath their property as they chose, if they died intestate their daughters shared equally with their sons. This did not entitle them to the franchise, even if they possessed the property qualification, but under very strict conditions a select few could obtain even that. So severe were the conditions, however, that before 1891 only three Bantu had acquired that doubtful privilege in Natal.

There was a court of appeal from the decisions of the ordinary magistrates who heard cases between Bantu in the first instance, which was presided over by an official possessing not only an intimate acquaintance with the language, but with the way of thinking and with the whole manner of life of the black people. It was called the Native High Court, and on the 5th of January 1884 Mr. John Wesley Stepstone became judge in it.

Thoughtful men were beginning to enquire what the future relationship of the two races to each other ought

to be. It was evident that at the rate of increase of the Bantu at that time, at no very distant date the Europeans would be crowded out of much of the land then possessed by them; but as nothing was devised to prevent this occurrence, it would be out of place to refer to it further here.

On the 16th of June 1873 President Brand, having recovered from his very serious illness, resumed duty as head of the Orange Free State, to the great satisfaction of the people. In the following November he was elected again as president, without opposition, and on the 5th of May 1874 took the oaths and entered upon his third term of office.

An alteration was made at this time in the court of combined landdrosts, by the substitution of a qualified advocate, with the title of chief justice, to preside in it instead of the senior member, as previously. Advocate Francis William Reitz, who was then practising at the Cape bar, was appointed chief justice, and in March 1874 assumed the duty. A further improvement in this court was made a little later, when the volksraad resolved that two qualified advocates should take the place of the landdrosts. In January 1876 the supreme court thus constituted was completed by the appointment of Mr. James Buchanan, previously attorney-general of the South African Republic, and Advocate Melius de Villiers, a brother of the chief justice of the Cape Colony, as puisne judges. The latter had been practising at the Cape bar.

In 1874 the redwater disease among horned cattle appeared in the Orange Free State for the first time, and caused much loss to the farmers.

On the 24th of December 1874 a convention was signed between President Brand and Sir Henry Barkly, governor of the Cape Colony, concerning the construction of bridges over the Orange river at the cost of the Cape government. Three bridges, at Colesberg, Bethulie, and

Aliwal North, were then taken in hand, but the work could only be carried on slowly. The materials were of necessity imported, and the carriage overland was tedious and expensive. The first completed was the one at Bethulie, which was opened for traffic on the 14th of February 1879. The other two were not ready for use until some months later. The construction of these bridges greatly facilitated communication between the Cape Colony and the Orange Free State, as before they were ready for use when the river was in flood waggons were sometimes detained for weeks on its banks.

In 1876, as related in another chapter, President Brand visited England, and entered into an agreement with Lord Carnarvon concerning the diamond fields. During his absence Messrs. W. Collins, J. G. Siebert, and G. J. Dutoit acted as a commission to perform the duties of the head of the state.

After the return of the president nothing of any importance occurred for some years. No part of South Africa enjoyed greater prosperity at this time, and peace with everyone and perfect internal order were undisturbed. Great improvements were made in the public schools, a high class educational institution for girls was established in Bloemfontein, and the Grey college was enlarged and a branch for the training of teachers was added to it. The public debt, as represented by the bluebacks, was paid off, and those notes disappeared from use. Many courthouses and other necessary buildings were erected in the different villages, and in May 1877 the neat public offices in Bloemfontein were opened for use. All over the state the means of communication were attended to. A line of telegraph was constructed from Bloemfontein to Fauresmith, where it was connected with the line from Capetown to Kimberley, thus giving immediate communication with the Cape Colony and Natal. On the 7th of April 1879 the office at Bloemfontein was opened.

On the 27th of June 1877 the National Bank of the Orange Free State was established by the volksraad, with a capital of £100,000, £70,000 of which was furnished by the government and £30,000 by subscribers. It was placed under the control of a board of seven directors, four of whom were appointed by the volksraad and three elected by the shareholders.

President Brand, to whose wise guidance the republic owed much of its prosperity, in December 1878 was elected for the fourth term. Having completed this also, and having seen the state grow steadily and quietly in population and in welfare, without attracting much notice from the outside world, he was again elected, and on the 9th of May 1884 took the oath of office for a fifth term. This he did not complete, for on the 16th of July 1888 the Peacemaker of South Africa, as he had deservedly come to be called, died in office. He was a model man, who did his duty and trusted in God, in the firm belief that everything would come right in the end. That was his motto, "alles zal regt kom."

In April 1880 Moroko, chief of the Barolong at Thaba Ntshu, died at the age of eighty-nine or ninety years. Though his abilities were not of a very high order, he was of a peaceable disposition, was exceedingly well disposed towards Europeans, and kept his people in such control that there were never any complaints of cattle thefts along his border. His territory was enclosed on all sides by the Free State, but was regarded as perfectly independent, and Moroko was not treated as a subject but as a faithful ally of the government at Bloemfontein. For many years he had been guided by the advice of Wesleyan missionaries, but had never openly embraced Christianity until the day before he died, when he was baptized. His mother was then still living.

For the preceding seven or eight years the government of the clan had been practically in the hands of a man named Tsepinare, who was only an adopted son of

Moroko, but was recognised by him and by the people generally as his legitimate heir. After his death, however, his eldest son, a man named Samuel, who had been educated at a church school in England, claimed to be the proper heir, and with his adherents, who professed the same religious opinions as he did, attacked Tsepinare, and tried to drive him from Thaba Ntshu.

The old counsellors then sent a request to President Brand to intervene, and he, after a patient hearing of both sides of the case, on the 17th of July 1880 gave his decision in favour of Tsepinare. Samuel was not satisfied with this, and though his adherents were much less numerous than his opponents, he made another attempt to secure the chieftainship by force of arms. In this he was unsuccessful, and was then compelled to leave Thaba Ntshu. After a time he came to Capetown, and endeavoured to obtain recognition and assistance from Sir Henry Loch, her Majesty's high commissioner, who very properly declined to interfere in the matter, and Samuel then went to England, where he was equally unsuccessful. He returned to South Africa, and went to live in Basutoland, but after a while, having collected a band of followers, he made a sudden attack upon Thaba Ntshu and on the 10th of July 1884 managed to kill Tsepinare. All was in disorder there, the great majority of the people refused to acknowledge Samuel as their head, and appealed to President Brand to assist them. He went to Thaba Ntshu, and, with their concurrence, on the 12th of July 1884 proclaimed the territory part of the Orange Free State, under the name of the district of Moroka.

Tsepinare had caused the outlying ground to be properly surveyed, and had given a titledeed to each of the petty captains whose kraals were scattered about it. After his death many of these men were desirous of selling their allotments, and the volksraad, acting upon their petitions, granted permission to some to do so, but a regulation

was made to prevent for fifteen years the alienation of any part of the remainder, and all speculation was debarred by requiring such sales as were allowed to be conducted through the medium of the government, so that the rights of the people living on the ground should be protected. The annexation of Thaba Ntshu brought the Bantu in the Orange Free State up to a greater number than the Europeans, but it kept the two races apart as before.

In November 1884 Samuel was put upon his trial at Bloemfontein for the murder of Tsepinare, but was discharged upon an exception to the indictment that the court had no jurisdiction, the district at the time of the murder being independent. He then went to reside in Basutoland.

In 1881 a census of the Orange Free State showed the population to consist in round numbers of sixty-one thousand Europeans and seventy-two thousand Bantu and other coloured persons. The white people were therefore here in a more favourable position than in any other part of South Africa, and the Bantu also could advance in civilisation more readily than elsewhere. They were in reality living more in accordance with European ideas than their kinsmen below the mountains, and a much larger proportion of them had embraced Christianity. But the approach to equality between the two races was in fact more apparent than real, for only the shallow Caledon river separated the Free State from Basutoland, and if the census had covered this territory also, the proportion would have been more than six black individuals for one white.

CHAPTER XXIV.

REVENUE OF THE CAPE COLONY AND NATAL. EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF SOUTH AFRICA. OTHER STATISTICS.

THE following statistics will show at a glance the revenue and expenditure of the Cape Colony and Natal during the twelve years 1873-1884, and also the amount of the oversea trade of all South Africa during that period, the whole of which then passed through Durban or ports of the Cape Colony. These figures, however, do not represent the total purchasing power of South Africa, because neither the diamonds obtained in Griqualand West and the Orange Free State nor the gold found in the Transvaal passed through a custom house, and there are no means of ascertaining their value. They are therefore not mentioned in the following lists.

REVENUE OF THE CAPE COLONY.

The revenue of the Cape Colony was steadily increasing with the growth of population, independently of the items telegraphs and railways, which depended upon the progress made in construction. In 1873 customs brought in £686,405, in 1880 £1,198,054, transfer dues rose from £84,416 in 1873 to £129,063 in 1880, auction dues from £18,777 to £32,503, stamps and licenses from £124,513 to £178,952, postage from £41,479 to £92,089, and some other items in proportion. In 1880 there was derived a revenue from the annexed districts between the Kei and Natal of £29,920. In telegraph and railway receipts of course the greatest bound forward was shown. In 1873 the receipts from the telegraph were £3,362, in 1880 they were £54,741, the railway receipts were in 1873 £63,950, in 1880 £739,206. The average annual total revenue from the 1st of January 1873 to the 31st of

December 1876 was £1,413,442, by 1880 it had risen to £3,009,970.

REVENUE OF THE CAPE COLONY FROM THE 1ST OF
JANUARY 1881 TO THE 31ST OF DECEMBER 1884.

Customs duties	...	...	...	£4,572,938
Stamps and licenses...	...	...	...	825,971
Land revenue...	...	...	...	735,282
Transfer dues...	...	...	...	499,076
Postage	...	...	...	423,125
Auction dues	...	...	...	119,482
Excise	...	...	...	170,431
House duty	...	...	...	323,140
Succession duty	...	...	...	43,178
Land sales	...	...	...	230,510
Rent	...	...	...	95,475
Bank notes duty	...	...	...	59,221
Fines and fees of court	...	...	...	120,198
Sales of government property	...	...	...	6,630
Reimbursements	...	...	...	376,238
Mines	...	...	...	105,344
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	35,093
Interest	...	...	...	60,220
Special	...	...	...	193,561
Railways	...	...	...	3,567,637
Telegraphs	...	...	...	221,045

Total during the four years ... £12,783,795

The average yearly revenue during this period was £3,195,949.

The expenditure was much greater than the revenue, owing to the construction of railways, telegraph lines, harbour works, and bridges, which necessitated borrowing money on a large scale. The ordinary expenses were increasing also, but they were more than covered by the ordinary revenue. The items maintenance of railways and

interest on loans and sinking fund were of course those that exhibited the most rapid increase, but all the great departments showed steady growth. Unfortunately the war expenses had to be made good by loans, but the cost of equipment and maintenance of the ordinary defence forces was met from the current revenue.

REVENUE OF NATAL.

	1873-1876.	1877-1880.
Customs	£417,623	£748,581
Hut-tax	141,365	242,990
Harbour, light, wharfage, and steam tug dues	32,633	92,328
Excise	34,771	63,463
Transfer dues	37,895	61,653
Mail service	32,679	49,409
Fines, forfeitures, and fees ...	21,939	39,121
Land revenue	36,204	35,102
Stamps	12,818	22,726
Fees of office	6,371	10,058
Auction dues	4,740*	
Bantu marriage fees	46,169†	
Land sales	37,732	7,399
Sale of government property ...	3,053	14,330
Immigration	2,540	5,240
Reimbursements	4,446	2,956
Ammunition	45,835	40,995
Miscellaneous	8,375	20,566
Interest	16,996	31,758
Sums refunded	1,475	2,043
Receipts civil list... ..	2,059	5,716
Special	31,481	30,079
Telegraph	1,079	12,184
Railway		158,452
	<hr/> £980,278	<hr/> £1,697,149

* Abolished in 1874.

† Abolished in 1875.

Yearly average of revenue and other receipts from
1st January 1873 to 31st December 1876 £245,069, from
1st January 1877 to 31st December 1880 £424,287.

REVENUE OF NATAL FROM THE 1ST OF JANUARY 1881
TO THE 31ST OF DECEMBER 1884.

Customs duties	...	...	...	£767,258
Hut-tax	...	...	...	268,783
Harbour, light, wharfage, and steam tugs	...	...	...	105,909
Excise	...	...	...	77,114
Mail service	...	...	...	81,811
Fines, forfeitures, and fees of court				57,318
Land revenue	...	...	...	38,422
Transfer dues	...	...	...	74,345
Stamps and licenses	...	...	...	76,084
Fees of office	...	...	...	14,701
Land sales	...	...	...	71,948
Sale of government property	...			17,968
Immigration	...	...	...	1,173
Reimbursements	...	...	...	12,398
Sale of ammunition...	...	...	...	39,862
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	47,441
Interest	...	...	...	30,128
Sums refunded	...	...	...	13,904
Telegraphs	...	...	...	30,703
Railways	...	...	...	663,597

Total receipts during the four years £2,490,867

The average yearly revenue from the 1st of January 1880 to the 31st of December 1884 was £622,717.

The expenditure of Natal was increasing yearly, mainly in the items interest on loans and maintenance of railways, harbour works, and telegraphs, but also in almost every branch of the administration. The public works

being reproductive, however, the treasury was able to bear the strain upon it without excessive taxation. In 1879 and 1880 there was a war expenditure of £82,250, in addition to £250,000 paid to the imperial government, which was raised by loan, and the interest was thereafter a charge upon the revenue.

EXPORTS OF THE CAPE COLONY.

	1873-1876.	1877-1880.
Wool	£10,793,893	£8,707,652
Ostrich feathers	1,011,270	2,522,653
Hides, horns, and skins...	1,354,906	1,150,451
Copper ore	1,139,347	1,146,805
Angora hair	400,199	561,981
Ivory	178,034	141,617
Cured fish	104,015	93,733
Wine	60,136	60,815
Grain and meal	37,390	40,463
Aloes	14,545	24,781
Dried fruit	26,456	13,427
Argol	11,769	12,208
Horses	8,777	8,480
Brandy	1,537	2,950
Cotton	2,950	465
Other South African produce...	207,831	300,007
	<hr/> £15,353,055	<hr/> £14,788,488
Deduct exports to Natal ...	210,536	253,462
	<hr/> £15,142,519	<hr/> £14,535,026

On an average yearly exportation oversea of South African produce, exclusive of diamonds, from the 1st of January 1873 to the 31st of December 1876 of £3,785,630, and from the 1st of January 1877 to the 31st of December 1880 of £3,633,756. The cause of the great falling off in the value of the wool exported from 1877 to 1880 was a drought in the eastern districts of almost unprece-

dented severity in 1877 and 1878, which caused the loss of an immense number of sheep there, and it was several years before the flocks attained again their former size. The quantity of ivory brought down from the interior was decreasing year after year, as the elephants were being destroyed. After this time cotton disappeared from the customs returns, while the production of ostrich feathers was rapidly increasing.

EXPORTS OF THE CAPE COLONY FROM THE 1ST OF
JANUARY 1881 TO THE 31ST OF DECEMBER 1884.

Wool	£7,982,055
Ostrich feathers	3,886,089
Hides, horns, and skins	1,638,665
Copper ore	1,514,670
Angora hair	1,027,165
Ivory	30,725
Cured fish	98,166
Wine	65,937
Grain and meal	33,227
Aloes	35,305
Dried fruit	6,933
Argol	19,695
Horses	15,605
Brandy	2,447
Other South African produce	279,755
<hr/>	
Total exports during the four years	£16,636,439
Deduct exports to Natal	249,068
<hr/>	
	£16,387,371

The average yearly exportation of South African products overseas through the ports of the Cape Colony from the 1st of January 1881 to the 31st of December 1884 was of an estimated value at the custom houses of £4,096,843.

The public debt of the Cape Colony on the 31st of December 1884 was £20,804,132, of which £1,145,865 was security for loans by corporate bodies.

EXPORTS OF NATAL.

	1873-1876.	1877-1880.
Wool	£1,347,609	£1,757,887
Sugar	626,686	599,329
Hides, horns, and skins...	539,180	170,210
Ivory	46,781	42,756
Angora hair	3,888	27,861
Ostrich feathers	15,760	24,527
Beans, peas, and maize...	6,359	21,519
Arrowroot	9,794	17,831
Rum	10,177	3,459
Butter	11,398	2,545
Fruit	2,024	1,502
Horses and other animals	2,083	1,242
Cotton	5,838	
Salted meat	890	
Aloes	608	
Potatoes	678	884
Coffee	9,603	336
Bacon	436	204
Tobacco	2,160	42
Other articles	60,149	6,374
	<hr/> £2,702,101	<hr/> £2,678,508
Deduct exports to the Cape Colony	605,207	544,213
	<hr/> £2,096,894	<hr/> £2,134,295

On an average yearly exportation oversea of South African produce, exclusive of diamonds and gold, from the 1st of January 1873 to the 31st of December 1876 of £524,223, and from the 1st of January 1877 to the 31st of December 1880 of £533,574. The Zulu war caused a

considerable local consumption of various articles that would otherwise have been exported, and this, together with the great decrease in the number of skins brought from the interior, the failure of cotton cultivation, and the rapidly declining quantity of coffee produced, will account for the diminution in the value of exports from Natal during the last period.

**EXPORTS OF NATAL FROM THE 1ST OF JANUARY 1881
TO THE 31ST OF DECEMBER 1884.**

Wool	£1,974,925
Sugar	564,143
Hides and skins	273,267
Ostrich feathers	58,483
Angora hair	57,068
Ivory	19,224
Arrowroot	11,554
Fruit	9,570
Coffee	121
Other produce	77,019
	<hr/>
	£3,045,374

Of which 561,158 worth went to the Cape Colony, leaving £2,484,216, or an average yearly exportation of the value of £621,054 oversea, chiefly to England.

IMPORTS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

The imports for home consumption of the Cape Colony from the 1st of January 1873 to the 31st of December 1876, after deducting those from Natal, were of the average yearly value of £5,271,727, from the 1st of January 1877 to the 31st of December 1880 £6,235,324, and from the 1st of January 1881 to the 31st of December 1884 £7,560,168.

The imports of Natal, after deducting those from the Cape Colony, from the 1st of January 1873 to the 31st

of December 1876 were of an average yearly value of £1,053,651, from the 1st of January 1877 to the 31st of December 1880 of £1,786,610, and from the 1st of January 1881 to the 31st of December 1884 £1,826,072.

The total oversea commerce of the whole of South Africa was therefore from the 1st of January 1873 to the 31st of December 1876, imports at the rate of £6,325,378 a year, and exports at the rate of £4,309,853, from the 1st of January 1877 to the 31st of December 1880, imports £8,021,934, exports £4,167,330, and from the 1st of January 1881 to the 31st of December 1884, imports £9,386,140, and exports £4,717,897. The difference was made good partly by raw gold, partly by diamonds, and partly by money raised on loan to cover the cost of material for public works.

The public debt of Natal on the 31st of December 1884 was £3,215,445.

The beneficial effect upon Natal of the overthrow of the Zulu power is seen by the rapid increase of European immigrants as soon as that menace to security of life and property was no more. At the close of 1876 there were in the colony 18,646 white people, 6,787 Indians, and 281,797 Bantu. In December 1884 there were 35,453 white people, 27,206 Indians, and 361,766 Bantu. A census of Maritzburg taken on the 27th of July 1884 showed that the city contained 8,474 Europeans and 1,671 Indians. Durban then contained 8,543 Europeans and 3,867 Indians.

A census of the Cape Colony was taken in 1875, but as neither Griqualand West nor the Transkeian territories had then been annexed, it does not indicate the condition of the colony in 1884. The next census was taken sixteen years later, during the night of Sunday the 5th of March 1891. This is more than six years in advance of the end of 1884, and it does not include British Betschuanaland or Pondoland, that were incorporated later,

but with allowances for these imperfections, the statistics resulting from it are as nearly correct as it is possible to make them.

There were then 376,987 individuals of European blood in the colony, of whom a little over 230,000 were Dutch speaking. The males were 195,956 in number, and the females 181,031. The extent to which recent immigration had affected the population is shown by 38,699 having been born in Great Britain or Ireland, 6,549 in Germany, and 4,601 in other European states.

There were 838,136 Bantu, nearly all of whom were in the Transkeian territories and in the eastern districts. Of these 415,201 were males and 422,935 were females. The Xosas numbered 249,484, the Fingos 229,680, the Tembus 184,754, the Basuto 39,583, the Pondomsis 30,647, the Bacas 24,556, the Xesibes 11,766, and the remainder were of various tribes of less importance.

The other coloured inhabitants of the colony consisted of 13,907 Malays, 247,806 mixed breeds of all classes, including a few Indians, 45,092 Hottentots, and 5,296 Bushmen. The total number of inhabitants not of European blood was 1,150,237, or there were about three times as many coloured people as there were whites. They were very unevenly distributed, however, as in the districts of Port Elizabeth, Piketberg, Sutherland, Riversdale, Ladismith, Knysna, Robertson, Prince Albert, and Frazerburg there were more white people than coloured, in the districts of the Cape, Bredasdorp, Swellendam, George, Oudtshoorn, Willowmore, Barkly East, and Albert they were nearly equal, while in Idutywa, Tsomo, Herschel, Kentani, Mount Fletcher, Engcobo, Mqanduli, Nqamakwe, Qumbu, Tsolo, Willowvale, and Elliotdale there was not one white person to every hundred Bantu.

The aridity of some portions of the colony is shown by the sparseness of population, thus Calvinis had only 0.52 to the square mile and Frazerburg 0.69. The most densely populated districts were the Cape peninsula with 146.73

individuals to the square mile and Port Elizabeth with 144.36.

There were 73,816 registered voters in the colony.

As regards population the towns stood in the following order: Capetown 51,251, Kimberley 28,718, Port Elizabeth 23,266, Grahamstown 10,498, Beaconsfield 10,478, Paarl 7,668, King-Williamstown 7,226, East London 6,924, Graaff-Reinet, 5,946, Worcester 5,404, Uitenhage 5,331, Cradock, 4,389, Oudtshoorn 4,386, Queenstown 4,094, Stellenbosch 3,462, Beaufort West 2,791, Malmesbury 2,461, Aliwal North 2,057, and Swellendam 1,727.

The live stock of the colony consisted of 444,147 horses, 96,345 mules and asses, 2,210,834 head of horned cattle, 13,651,011 woolled sheep, 3,075,095 large tailed sheep, 3,184,018 Angora goats, 3,444,019 common goats, 288,190 pigs, and 154,880 ostriches.

The crops last gathered consisted of 2,727,490 bushels of wheat, 2,894,482 bushels of maize, 1,387,610 bushels of millet, 1,819,130 bushels of oats, 923,005 bushels of barley, and 527,425 bushels of rye. Of tobacco 10,993,200 pounds had been gathered.

There were 78,574,124 vines bearing, and the quantity of wine made was 6,012,522 gallons, and of brandy distilled 1,423,043 gallons.

SOUTH AFRICA—SYNOPTICAL INDEX.

ABERDEEN:

in February 1880 is made a magisterial district of the Cape Colony, *ii* 196

ACTIVE, her Majesty's ship:

in December 1877 supplies a naval brigade for service in the Kaffir war, *i* 79

ADAM Muis:

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ADEN:

in December 1879 is connected with South Africa by submarine cable, *ii* 192

AFRIKANDER Bond:

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AFRIKANER, Jacobus:

is head of a band of Hottentot robbers, *ii* 80; in May 1879 he is made a prisoner, *ii* 85

ALIWAAL North:

on the 19th of August 1885 the railway from East London is opened to, *ii* 194; population in 1891 of, *ii* 288

AMANGWA, Bantu clan in Natal:

in 1878 is dispersed by colonial forces, *i* 281; the secretary of state for the colonies orders compensation to be made to it, *i* 286; which in 1875 is fixed at the rate of £8,000 a year for four years, *i* 242

AMMUNITION:

seizure of in 1879 by Transvaal farmers, *ii* 99

ANGORA goats:

number of in 1891 in the Cape Colony, *ii* 288

ANSTRUTHER, Lieutenant-Colonel Philip:

on the 20th of December 1880 is mortally wounded at Bronkhorst Spruit, *ii* 119

ANTA, Gaika chief:

being too old and feeble to move about, in 1877 professes to be loyal to the Cape Government, i 83; on the 10th of June 1878 dies, i 182

AUSTEN, John:

in April 1878 becomes magistrate of Quthing, ii 43; on the 22nd of February 1879, on account of the rebellion of Morosi, retires to Palmietfontein, ii 45; on the 28th of January 1881 is killed in action with Basuto, ii 67

AYLIFF, James:

in May 1878 becomes resident with Krefi, i 52; in March 1876 becomes chief magistrate of Pingoland, i 44

AYLIFF, Jonathon:

on the 18th of May 1884 becomes colonial secretary, ii 204; on the 4th of March 1885 resigns on account of ill health, ib.

AYLIFF, William:

in February 1878 becomes secretary for native affairs in the Cape Colony, i 106; on the 9th of May 1881 retires from office, ii 69

AYLWARD, Alfred:

in November 1876 succeeds Captain 'Von Schlickmann as commandant of the volunteers operating against Sekukuni in the South African Republic, i 266

BACAS:

in March 1876 those under the chief Makaula in Griqualand East become British subjects, i 87; number of individuals composing the tribe in 1891, ii 287

BADIRILE, chief of a Barolong clan:

on the 1st of April 1911 dies, ii 145

BAKATLA tribe of Betshuana:

account of the, ii 176

BAKWENA tribe of Betshuana:

during many years is at war with the Bakatla, ii 176

BAMANGWATO tribe of Betshuana:

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BANGWAKETSE tribe of Betshuana:

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in Natal, *ii* 217; number of those in Natal in 1878, *i* 226; number of those in Natal in 1884, *ii* 286; number of those in the Cape Colony in 1891, *ii* 287; system of dealing with those in Natal by the Government, *i* 226; conduct of those professing Christianity during the rebellion of 1878 in the Cape Colony, *i* 184; unreliability of traditions of, *i* 178; laws in force among those in the Transkeian territories, *i* 154

BAPEDI tribe:

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BAPUTI clan of the Basuto tribe:

particulars concerning, *ii* 41; see Morosi

BARKLY, Sir Henry:

in October 1876 is unfriendly towards the South African Republic, *i* 266; on the 31st of March 1877 retires as governor of the Cape Colony, *i* 49

BASUTO:

are dealt with very cautiously by Mr. Molteno, *ii* 54; in 1879 the tribe is in a prosperous condition, *ii* 55; statistics regarding schools in 1880, *ib.*; they have obtained great numbers of guns, *ib.*; which in December 1879 they are called upon to surrender, *ii* 58; a few obey, and are then attacked by their countrymen and driven from their homes, *ii* 60; they flee to Maseru and Mafeteng, and claim protection from the magistrates, *ib.*; forces are sent from the colony to overawe the insurgents, *ib.*; on the 18th of September 1880 a detachment is attacked close to Mafeteng by a Basuto army under Lerothodi, *ii* 61; from that date until April 1881 there are frequent engagements without any decisive result to either side, *ii* 61 *et seq.*; the damage done by the insurgents to the loyals and to Europeans is estimated at £212,000, *ii* 64; on the 10th of January 1881 Lerothodi and Joel Molapo petition the queen for peace and to be allowed to retain their arms, *ii* 66; by instruction from the imperial government Sir Hercules Robinson then offers to mediate and arrange lenient terms, *ib.*; the chiefs decline to lay down their arms before they know the terms, so hostilities continue, *ib.*; Mr. Sprigg offers conditions, of which they take no notice, *ib.*; early in February 1881 some five hundred burghers return home without leave, *ii* 68; on the 18th of April Lerothodi and Joel promise to submit unreservedly to the decision of the high commissioner,

ib.; who thereupon, on the 29th of April, issues an award, *ib.*; which all of the insurgent chiefs accept, but only partially carry out, *ii* 70; as hostilities have ceased, the colonial forces are allowed to return to their homes, *ii* 71; Mr. Joseph M. Orpen becomes acting governor's agent, and tries to restore order, but fails, *ib.*; the people are becoming demoralised by the free use of brandy, *ib.*; the colonial government is restricted in its action by the imperial authorities, *ii* 72; on the 6th of April 1882 the application of the disarmament act to Basutoland is annulled, *ii* 74; the Cape parliament is desirous of casting off Basutoland, *ii* 76; as the disturbance there has cost the colony considerably over £8,000,000, *ib.*; in March 1883 Messrs. Scanlon and Sauer offer great concessions to the tribe, but a large section takes no notice of the proposal, *ii* 77; the ministry then urge the imperial government to take over the administration of Basutoland, *ii* 78; and on the 14th of June 1883 the secretary of state agrees to do so under certain conditions, *ib.*; the Cape parliament then passes an act severing Basutoland from the Cape Colony, and agrees to pay the imperial government £20,000 a year towards the cost of its administration, *ii* 79; most of the chiefs consent to come under direct imperial rule, *ib.*; and on the 18th of March 1884 the transfer is effected, *ib.*

BASUTO in Griqualand East:

in July 1873 those under Lebenya are made subject to the Cape government, *i* 81; and in October 1874 those under Makwai, *i* 85; in 1880 many of the clans rebel against colonial authority, *ii* 155

BATAUNG clan under Molitsane:

in 1880 join the other Basuto in insurrection, *ii* 61

BATHORN, chief of the Bangwaketse:

reference to, *ii* 178

BATLOKUA:

in July 1873 those under Lehana are made subject to the Cape government, *i* 81

BAYLY, Colonel Zachary:

in August 1878 is sent with some volunteers to the northern border, but does not remain there long, *ii* 33; on the 27th of October 1879 he takes command of the forces operating against the rebel chief Morosi, *ii* 51; and on the 20th of November takes Morosi's mountain by storm, *ii* 52

BEACHE, Sir Michael Hicks:

on the 4th of February 1878 becomes secretary of state for the

colonies, i 106; in August 1878 refuses to restore the independence of the Transvaal, i 289; in a despatch of the 20th of November 1879 expresses his views concerning the Transvaal, ii 94; presses the subject of confederation, ii 186; expresses an opinion unfavourable to Mr. Molteno in the matter in dispute between that gentleman and Sir Bartle Frere, i 106

BRACONSFIELD, town of:

population in 1891 of, ii 288

BRAUFORT West:

in February 1880 is connected by railway with Capetown, ii 192, population in 1891 of, ii 288

BELLAIRS, Lieutenant-Colonel William:

from the 20th of April to the 5th of May 1880 acts as head of the Natal government, ii 208

BEMBA, petty Zulu chief:

on the 9th of January 1879 surrenders to Lieutenant-Colonel Evelyn Wood, and is sent to Utrecht with his people, i 326

BETHELL, Christopher:

is Montsiwa's confidential agent, ii 149; in July 1884 is enrolled as an officer in the Betshuanaland Border Police, ii 159; on the 31st of the same month is terribly wounded and is then murdered, ii 161

BETSHUANALAND:

on the 23rd of March 1885 the whole country is proclaimed a British protectorate, ii 171; on the 30th of September 1885 that portion south of the Molopo river and Ramathlabama Spruit is proclaimed to be under British sovereignty, ii 172

BETSHUANALAND Border Police:

in August 1885 five hundred men are enrolled and placed under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Carrington, ii 171

BEZUIDENHOUT:

case of, which is the immediate cause of the Transvaal war of independence, ii 115

BISHOPSTOWE in Natal:

on the 22nd of September 1884 is destroyed by fire, ii 217

BIZANA, in Eastern Pondoland:

in 1894 is created a magisterial district, i 222

BLACK, Major:

on the 15th of March 1879 is the first to visit Isandhlwana after the great disaster, i 322

BLAKESWAY, Captain:

on the 10th of November 1880 is killed by rebels, i 158

BLOEMFONTEIN:

in June 1875 the foundation stone of the public offices is laid; its educational institutions are advancing, *ii* 224; in May 1877 the public offices are opened for use, *ib.*; in April 1879 the town is connected by telegraph with the other parts of South Africa, *ib.*; in May 1880 the educational institution for girls is completed and opened for use, *ib.*

BLYTH, Captain Matthew Smith:

in March 1876 becomes chief magistrate of the three Griqua districts, *i* 85; in September 1878 becomes chief magistrate of Transkei, *i* 140; on the 17th of March 1883 becomes acting governor's agent in Basutoland, *ii* 77; on the 18th of March 1884 transfers Basutoland to the resident commissioner for the imperial government, *ii* 79

BLYTHWOOD Industrial Institution:

establishment of, *i* 48

Box, W. Eduard:

in 1878 goes to England as secretary to Messrs. Kruger and Joubert, *i* 288; in January 1879 is appointed secretary of a permanent committee to work for the independence of the Transvaal, *ii* 88; in August 1881 becomes state secretary of the Transvaal, *ii* 188

BOKWE, Rev. John Knox:

mention of, *i* 28

BOMVANAS:

account of the, *i* 144

BOND, Mr., a volunteer:

in 1878 is killed by Langalibalele's followers at the Bushman's river pass, *i* 280

BONDELZWARTS Hottentots:

territory occupied by, *ii* 85

BOSHOF, Jacobus Nicolaas:

on the 21st of April 1881 dies in Natal, *ii* 216

BOTLASITSI, chief of a Batlapin clan:

dealings with, *ii* 144

BOUNDARY between Zululand and the Transvaal:

as defined by the award delivered on the 11th of December 1878, *i* 308

BOURNB, Inspector:

on the 2nd of December 1877 is in command of the colonial forces at Umzintzani, *i* 77; (Captain) on the 20th of November 1879 assists in taking Morosi's mountain stronghold by storm, *ii* 52

BOWKER, James Henry:

from March to June 1878 acts as governor's agent in Basutoland,
 ii 48

BOYES, Major, J. F.:

in April 1876 becomes magistrate of Umtata, i 48

BRABANT, Colonel:

on the 5th of June 1879 fails in the second attempt to take
 Morosi's stronghold by storm, ii 50

BRADSHAW, Captain:

on the 19th of March 1878 is killed in the Amatola forest, i 121

BRAND, Jan Hendrik:

in November 1878 is elected president of the Orange Free State
 for a third term, ii 221; in 1876 conducts transactions in
 England, i 22; in December 1878 is elected for a fourth term,
 ii 225; is most friendly towards the Cape Colony during the
 Basuto insurrection, ii 68; in 1881 acts as a peacemaker
 between Great Britain and the Transvaal, ii 125; on the 12th
 of May 1888 requests the secretary of state for the colonies
 to restore tranquillity on the Basuto border, ii 78; on the
 16th of July 1888 dies, ii 225

BRIDGES over the Orange River:

construction of three, ii 228; in February 1879 the first, at
 Bethulie, is opened for use, ii 224

BRITISH Beishuanaland:

on the 30th of September 1885 becomes a crown colony, ii 172;
 European population in 1891, ii 184; on the 16th of November
 1895 is incorporated in the Cape Colony, ii 188

BRITISH Regiments that Served in South Africa:

8rd regiment of the line (the Buffs): in November 1876 the
 second battalion arrives, i 56; in August 1879 it leaves for the
 Straits Settlements, i 346

4th regiment of the line: in January 1879 the second battalion
 arrives, i 296; in February 1880 it leaves for India, ii 118

18th regiment of the line: in January 1875 the first battalion
 arrives, i 56; in August 1879 it leaves for England, i 346

21st regiment of the line: in April 1879 the second battalion
 arrives, i 388; in February 1882 it leaves for England

24th regiment of the line: in January 1875 the first battalion
 arrives, i 56; this battalion was almost annihilated at
 Isandhlwana, i 316; in August 1879 it leaves for England,
 i 346; in February 1878 the second battalion arrives, i 307;
 in January 1880 it leaves for Gibraltar, ii 118

- 27th regiment of the line: in November 1865 arrives from Hong Kong
- 32nd regiment of the line: in August 1877 the wing remaining here in 1872 leaves for England, i 56
- 41st regiment of the line, or the Welsh regiment: in April 1861 arrives from Gibraltar, ii 127
- 57th regiment of the line: in March 1879 arrives from Ceylon, i 332; in October of the same year leaves for England, i 347
- 58th regiment of the line, or the Northamptonshire regiment: in April 1879 the second battalion arrives, i 333; in September 1885 it leaves for Hong Kong, ii 172
- 60th rifles: in January 1881 the second battalion arrives from India, ii 122; in December of the same year leaves for England; in March 1879 the third battalion arrives from England, i 332; in February 1882 it leaves for Malta
- 75th regiment of the line: in February 1875 leaves for England, i 56
- 80th regiment of the line: in March and April 1877 arrives from Singapore, i 56; in April 1880 leaves for Ireland, ii 113
- 82nd regiment of the line, or the South Lancashire regiment: in August 1884 the second battalion arrives from England, ii 19
- 83rd regiment of the line: in January 1881 arrives from India, ii 122; in November of the same year leaves to return to India
- 85th regiment of the line: in March 1881 the second battalion arrives from India, ii 127; in November of the same year it leaves to return to India
- 86th regiment of the line: in February 1875 leaves for England, i 56
- 88th regiment of the line: in July 1877 arrives from Ireland, i 56; in October 1879 leaves for India, i 346
- 90th regiment of the line: in February 1878 arrives, i 98; in October 1879 leaves for India, i 346
- 91st regiment of the line, or the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders: in March 1879 arrives from England, i 332; in November 1885 leaves for Ceylon
- 92nd regiment of the line: in January 1881 the second battalion arrives from India, ii 122; in December of the same year it leaves for England
- 94th regiment of the line: in April 1879 arrives, i 333; in March 1882 leaves for England
- 97th regiment of the line: in February 1881 the second battalion arrives from Gibraltar, ii 122; in February 1882 leaves for England

99th regiment of the line: in January 1879 arrives, i 296; in December of the same year leaves for Bermuda, i 347; in April 1881 it returns from Bermuda; in February 1882 it leaves for England

1st dragoon guards: in April 1879 arrive, i 333; in September 1880 leave for India, ii 118

6th or Inniskilling dragoons: in February 1881 arrive from England, ii 127

7th huzzars: in April 1881 arrive from England, ii 127; in April and May 1882 they leave to return to England

18th huzzars: in November 1884 arrive from Bombay, ii 19

14th huzzars: in March 1881 arrive from India, ii 127; in November of the same year leave to return to India

15th huzzars: in January 1881 arrive from India, ii 122; in November of the same year leave to return to India

17th huzzars: in April 1879 arrive, i 333; in August of the same year leave to return to India, i 346

BROMHEAD, Lieutenant, of the second battalion of the 24th regiment:
on the 22nd of January 1879 assists in the defence of the post at Rorke's drift, i 320

BRONKHORST Spruit:

on the 20th of December 1880 a detachment of the 94th regiment is almost annihilated at, ii 119

BROOME, Frederick Napier:

in March 1875 becomes colonial secretary of Natal, i 238; (governor of Mauritius) in March 1879 sends the troops from that island to Natal, i 332

BROWNLIE, Charles:

on the 6th of February 1878 resigns the office of secretary for native affairs, i 104; in December of the same year becomes the first chief magistrate of Griqualand East, i 41

BUCHANAN, James, attorney-general of the South African Republic:

in 1874 is excluded from the executive council, i 250; in November 1875 resigns his office, i 255; in January 1876 becomes a judge in the Orange Free State, ii 228

BULLER, Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers:

on the 1st of February 1879 destroys the Qulusi military kraal, i 327; at the close of the Zulu war returns to Europe, i 346; from the 8rd of April to the 9th of August 1881 acts as administrator of Natal, ii 210

BULWER, Sir Henry Ernest:

on the 8rd of September 1875 assumes duty as lieutenant-governor of Natal, i 224; on the 20th of April 1880 retires, ii 208; on

the 6th of March 1882 becomes governor of Natal, *ii* 210; on the 28rd of October 1885 leaves Natal to return to England
BURGERS, Thomas François, president of the South African Republic :

in 1878 obtains a loan of £80,000 in gold from the Cape Commercial Bank with which to redeem the Transvaal paper money, *i* 248; in 1875 visits Europe to borrow money for the construction of a railroad from the republic to Delagoa Bay, *i* 254; he succeeds in borrowing £90,000, with which he purchases railway material, and then returns to South Africa, *i* 255; on his return finds an empty treasury and the Bapedi under Sekukuni in rebellion, *i* 256; he leads a strong commando against Sekukuni, and gets possession of Mathebi's Kop, *i* 261; and of the stronghold of Johannes, *i* 262; but fails to get possession of Sekukuni's mountain, where the commando disperses, *i* 268; upon the annexation of the Transvaal to the British dominions he retires to the Cape Colony, *i* 274; and on the 9th of December 1881 dies, *ib.*

BURGHESDORP :

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BURIAL Custom of the Southern Bantu :

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BUSHMEN :

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CAGLI, Signor :

in 1877 is the promoter of an international exhibition in Capetown, *i* 50

CALCUTTA, American ship :

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CANNON :

during the war of independence two are manufactured in the Transvaal by a burgher named Ras, *ii* 183.

CAPE flats :

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CAPE parliament : see Parliament

CAPTOWN :

progress of railway construction inland from, *ii* 192; population in 1891 of, *ii* 288

CARNARVON, Lord :

in February 1874 becomes secretary of state for the colonies, *i* 17; in July 1876 displays an unfriendly attitude towards the South African Republic, *i* 266; on the 4th of July 1877 receives

Messrs. Kruger and Jorissen courteously, but refuses to restore the independence of the Transvaal, i 278; on the 4th of February 1878 is succeeded as secretary of state for the colonies by Sir Michael Hicks Beach, i 106

CARNARVON, formerly Schietfontein:

a settlement of Xosas is formed at, ii 29; in September 1874 it becomes a magisterial district of the Cape Colony, i 11

CARRINGTON, Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick:

commands the left wing of the Cape mounted riflemen during the Basuto rebellion, ii 61; in August 1885 assumes command of the Betschuanaland Border Police, ii 172

CARRINGTON's horse:

in January 1878 are enrolled for military service, i 84; (now termed the frontier light horse) take an active part in the operations against the rebel chief Sekukuni in the Transvaal, i 285

CATERPILLARS:

extraordinary plague in parts of the Cape Colony in 1878 of, i 128

CATHCART:

in February 1877 is created a magisterial district of the Cape Colony, i 51

CELLIER, Mr., editor of the *Volkstem*:

in November 1880 is prosecuted for seditious libel, ii 114

CELT, Union Company's steamer:

on the 7th of February 1875 is wrecked near Ratel River west of Cape Agulhas

CENSUS of the Cape Colony:

results of that taken in March 1875, i 17; and of that taken on the 5th of March 1891, ii 226

CERES Road:

on the 8rd of November 1875 the railway from Capetown is opened to, i 18

CHALMERS, William B.:

in November 1877 is sent as a commissioner to the Gaika location, i 76

CHARD, Lieutenant, of the royal engineers:

gallantly defends the post at Rorke's drift when on the 22nd of January 1879 it is attacked by the Zulus, i 320

CHELMSFORD, Lord: see Theisger

CHIAFFINI, Captain, of the third yeomanry regiment:

on the 29th of May 1879 meets with a big disaster on the bank of the Orange river at the junction of the Quthing, ii 49

CLAN line of steamers :

in September 1881 commence running between England and South Africa, *ii* 198

CLARKE, Brigadier-General Charles M. :

during the Basuto insurrection is commandant-general of the colonial forces, *ii* 62

CLARKE, Captain Marshall James :

in 1878 commands in the operations against the rebel chief Sekukuni, *i* 282; on the 18th of December 1880 is obliged to surrender the garrison of a small fort at Potchefstroom to Commandant Peter Cronjé, *ii* 117; (Lieutenant-Colonel) on the 18th of March 1884 becomes resident commissioner in Basutoland, *ii* 79

CLIFFORD, Major-General the honourable H. H. :

in April 1879 is placed in command of the base of operations in Natal, *i* 887; from the 5th of May to the 2nd of July 1880 acts as head of the Government of Natal, *ii* 208; from the 15th to the 27th of September 1880 acts as head of the Cape government, *ii* 192

CLYDE, transport :

on the 4th of April 1879 is wrecked at Dyer's Island, *i* 888

COAT of arms of the Cape province :

particulars concerning, *i* 24

COCHET, Rev. Mr., of the French evangelical mission :

in 1880 accompanies a Basuto deputation to Capetown, *ii* 59

COLENSO, the right reverend Dr. John William, bishop of Natal :

in 1874 is the champion of the rebel Hlubi chief Langalibalele, *i* 285; desires the restoration of Ketahwayo to the Zulu chieftainship, *ii* 8; objects to the terms under which Ketahwayo is sent back to Zululand, *ii* 11; on the 20th of June 1888 dies, *ii* 216

COLENSO, Miss Frances Ellen :

reference to books written by, *i* 298

COLENSO, Francis Ernest, a lawyer in Natal :

in 1878 attempts, but without success, to interfere in the Zulu difficulty, *i* 298

COLESBERG :

on the 16th of October 1888 the railway from Port Elizabeth is opened to, *ii* 194

COLLEY, Lieutenant-Colonel George Pomeroy :

in March 1875 arrives in Natal with Sir Garnet Wolseley, and becomes acting treasurer, *i* 288; (Sir George Pomeroy) on the 2nd of July 1880 becomes governor of Natal, high commis-

sioner for South-Eastern Africa, and commander in chief of her Majesty's forces, *ii* 208; in January 1881 collects all the available military forces in Natal, and forms a fortified camp at Mount Prospect, *ii* 120; on the 28th of that month attacks the Transvaal farmers at Lang's Nek, but is repulsed with heavy loss, *ii* 121; on the 8th of February meets with another disaster at Schuins Hoogte, *ii* 122; during the night of the 26th of February climbs to the top of Majuba hill with five or six hundred soldiers and sailors, *ii* 128; where on the following day he is attacked by farmers who have scaled the hill in three places, and meets with a great disaster, in which he is killed, *ib.*

CONDOR, Captain Claude Reigner, of the royal engineers:

in 1885 surveys and beacons off the western boundary of the South African Republic, *ii* 168

CONDITIONS under which Ketshwayo is sent back to Zululand in January 1888:

wording of, *ii* 8 *et seq.*

CONFEDERATION of the various South African colonies and states:

account of Lord Carnarvon's scheme of, *i* 17; resolutions adopted in November 1875 by the Cape parliament concerning, *i* 21; an act is passed by the imperial parliament to facilitate, *i* 49; reasons of the Beaconsfield ministry for desiring, *ii* 82; various views concerning, *ii* 185; it is made impossible by the annexation of the Transvaal to the British dominions, *ii* 186; in 1878 the subject is discussed by the legislative council of Natal, but no action is taken, *ii* 85; an appeal to the electors of the Cape Colony is made on the subject, but the result is adverse, *ii* 188; in 1880 it is finally rejected, *ii* 191

CONFERENCE (so called) on confederation:

in August 1876 is held in London, *i* 28

CONSTITUTION Amendment Act of 1882 in Natal:

particulars concerning, *ii* 211

CONVENTION of London, granting complete independence to the South African Republic:

on the 27th of February 1884 is signed, *ii* 155; particulars concerning, *ib.*; on the 8th of August in the same year it is ratified by the volksraad, *ii* 156

CONVENTION of Pretoria:

on the 8rd of August 1881 is signed, *ii* 129; particulars concerning, *ib.*; on the 25th of October 1881 it is ratified with great reluctance by the volksraad, *ii* 180

COODE, Sir John, marine engineer :

in 1876 visits South Africa and reports upon several harbours,
i 25

COTTON growing :

cessation of in the eastern districts of the Cape Colony, i 16

CRADOCK :

on the 1st of June 1881 the railway from Port Elizabeth is
opened to, ii 198; population in 1891 of, ii 288

CREALOCK, Major-General :

in April 1879 is placed in command of a division of the forces
marching near the coast in Zululand, i 387; encamps at Port
Durnford, and never advances farther, i 340; on the close of
the Zulu war returns to Europe, i 346

CRONJÉ, Commandant Pieter :

conduct of at Potchefstroom in November 1880, ii 115; and in
December of the same year, ii 117

CUMMING, Thomas A. :

in March 1875 becomes acting commissioner and magistrate of
Kokstad, i 35; in March 1876 returns to Idutywa, i 36; in
September, 1877 retires from service, i 59

CUMMING, William G. :

in July 1878 becomes magistrate of Xalanga, i 148

CUNYNGHAME, Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur A. T. :

in March 1874 becomes commander of the troops in South
Africa, i 17; on the 25th of February 1878 is succeeded by
Lieutenant-General Thesiger, i 120

DABULAMANZI, half brother of the Zulu chief Ketshwayo :

in September 1878 menaces the peace of Natal, i 295; com-
mands the Zulu army that on the 22nd of January 1876
unsuccessfully attacks the post at Rorke's drift, i 320; on the
12th of the following July surrenders to the British forces,
i 345; objects to the diminution of territory given to Ketshwayo
when he returns to Zululand, ii 11; escapes from the custody
of two farmers who have arrested him and flees into the
reserve, but is followed and shot, ii 25

**DALASILE, chief of the Amakwati. occupying the district of Engcoobo
in Tembuland :**

in December 1875 becomes a British subject, i 47; in the war
of 1877-8 with the Galekas declines to assist the colonial
forces, i 62; in October 1890 rises in rebellion against the
Cape government, i 148; but is thoroughly subdued and loses
everything, i 149; on the 18th of May 1895 dies, i 152

DALINDYEBO :

on the 30th of December 1884 succeeds his father Gangelizwe as head of the Tembu tribe, *i* 152; in November 1886 offers to assist the government against the Pondos, *i* 207

DARALA, Emigrant Tembu chief :

in September 1878 becomes a British subject, *i* 148; in June 1884 dies, *i* 152

DAVID Massou, Korana Captain :

carries on war with the Batlapin chief Mankoroano, *i* 144; enlists Europeans to assist him, *ib.*; on the 26th of July 1882 agrees to peace, *ii* 147; strongly objects to the western boundary of the South African Republic as fixed by the convention of London, *ii* 168; comes into conflict with the government of the South African Republic, and is killed in battle, *ii* 174

DEANE, Lieutenant-Colonel Bonar :

on the 28th of January 1881 is killed at Lang's Nek, *ii* 121

DELAGOA Bay :

in 1879 is connected by submarine cable with Durban and Aden, *ii* 192; particulars concerning the construction of a railway to the Transvaal, *ii* 142

DELIMA, son of the Gunukwebe chief Pato :

in January 1878 goes into rebellion against the Cape Colony, *i* 86; in March 1878 meets with heavy losses, *i* 125; on the 30th of July surrenders, *i* 182

DERBY, Earl of :

on the 17th of December 1882 becomes secretary of state for the colonies, *ii* 158; regards the desire of the Transvaal farmers for complete independence favourably, *ib.*; concludes the convention of London with them, *ii* 155

DIAMOND field horse :

account of the corps so called, *i* 91

DINIZULU, son of Ketshtwayo :

on the 21st of May 1884 is installed by a party of Transvaal farmers as supreme chief of the Zulus, *ii* 19; rises in arms when British authority over Zululand is enforced, but is captured and sent as a prisoner of state to the island of St. Helena, *ii* 27

DISARMAMENT Act :

in 1878 is passed by the Cape Parliament, *i* 117; the attempt to enforce it causes a rebellion in Tembuland and Griqualand East, *i* 147; is put in force in the division of King-Williamstown, *ii* 58; on the 6th of April 1880 is applied to Basutoland.

with the result that most of the tribe offer armed resistance, ii 58; on the 6th of April 1882 its application to Basutoland is cancelled, ii 74

DISPUTED Boundary Commission:

on the 26th of February 1878 is appointed to take evidence and report upon the boundary in dispute between the Transvaal and Zululand, i 294; on the 20th of June sends in a report favourable to the Zulus, i 295

DIXIE, Lady Florence:

is a champion of Ketshwayo, ii 8

DODA, son of the Baputi chief Morosi:

in March 1878 sets the magistrate of Quthing at defiance, ii 48; in November 1878 is sentenced to four years imprisonment for horse stealing, ib.; on the 28th of January 1879 is forcibly released from prison by his father, ii 44

DONKER, Malgas:

is head of a band of Xosa vagrants, ii 29; has taken part in disturbances in Griqualand West, ib.; in 1879 occupies islands in the Orange river, ib.; gives a great deal of trouble to the colonial forces, ii 86; but is ultimately hunted down and killed, ib.

DONOVAN, Captain, of the diamond field horse:

on the 21st of March 1878 is killed in the Amatola forest, i 122

DORMER, Francis Joseph:

as editor of the *Cape Argus* defends himself in an action for libel brought against him by Attorney-General Upington, ii 88

DORTHESIA:

ravages caused by, i 14: discovery of a remedy for, i 15

DROUGHT, prolonged:

effects of, ii 280

DUKWANA, son of Ntsikana:

follows the Galka chief Sandile into rebellion, i 86; on the 29th of May 1878 is killed in a skirmish at Isidengi hill, i 180

DUNN, John, an Englishman living in Zululand:

is engaged in supplying the Zulus with guns, i 291; before the beginning of hostilities in January 1879 abandons the Zulu cause and with his people takes shelter in Natal, i 306; assists in the operations against the Zulus, i 384; in the partition of Zululand into thirteen districts by Sir Garnet Wolseley has the largest of them assigned to him, i 351; attempts to govern his district in a kind of civilised manner, ii 1; in July 1881 defeats Sitimela and drives him from Zululand, ii 2; easily

in 1856 is deprived of his sovereignty, but is soon afterwards given the position of an ordinary Kaffir chief, *ii* 12

DUPLESSIS, Fieldcornet L. M.:

in 1876 is the leader of a party of emigrants from the South African Republic to Mossamedes, *i* 261

DURBAN:

progress of railway extension inland from, *ii* 206; improvements in, *ii* 215; population in July 1884, *ii* 236

DURNFORD, Major Anthony William, of the royal engineers;

in 1878 is in command of the volunteers sent in pursuit of Langalibalele, *i* 229; (Lieutenant-Colonel) on the 26th of February 1878 is appointed a member of the disputed boundary commission, *i* 294; on the 22nd of January 1879 is killed at Isandhlwana, *i* 316

DUTCH language:

is restored to official use, *ii* 199

DUTOIT, Rev. Stephanus Jacobus, editor of the *Patriot* newspaper:

in 1879 founds the *Afrikaner Bond*, *ii* 186; early in 1884 visits England as a member of a deputation from the Transvaal, and concludes with the earl of Derby the convention of London, *ii* 158; on the 25th of September 1884 arranges a treaty of peace between the Barolong chiefs Montsiwa and Moshete, which is objected to by the British authorities, *ii* 164

EASTERN Pondoland:

after its annexation to the Cape Colony in 1894 is divided into three districts, named Umsikaba, Tabankulu, and Bizana, *i* 222; population in 1894 of, *i* 228

EAST London:

an excellent harbour is constructed at, *i* 26; progress of railway construction inland from, *ii* 193; population in 1891 of, *ii* 288

EDYE, Harry Mills:

in September 1878 is appointed acting resident magistrate and sub-collector of customs at Port St. John's, *i* 180

EGERTON, Conductor Ralph:

after the engagement at Bronkhorst Spruit conveys the colours of the 94th regiment to Pretoria, *ii* 119

ELECTRIC light:

introduction into Capetown of, *ii* 205

ELLENBERGER, Rev. D. Fred., missionary with the Baputi clan under Morosi:

in the early weeks of 1879 does all in his power to induce the people to keep the peace, *ii* 48; reference to the volume *History of the Basuto Ancient and Modern* written by, *ii* 41

ELLIOT, Captain:

is made a prisoner at Bronkhorst Spruit, *ii* 119; is released on parole, but is shot dead when attempting to cross the Vaal river, *ii* 181

ELLIOT, Major Henry G.:

in August 1877 becomes chief magistrate of Tembuland Proper, *i* 62; to which in September 1878 Emigrant Tembuland is added, *i* 144

ELLIOTDALE, district of:

in 1878 Bomvanaland takes that name, *i* 147

EMIGRATION of farmers from the South African Republic to Mossamedes:

account of, *i* 261

EMJANYANA, in Tembuland:

in 1876 is created a magisterial district, *i* 47

EMPIRE League:

particulars concerning the political association so called, *ii* 206

ENGCOBO, in Tembuland:

in 1876 is created a magisterial district, *i* 47

ENGLISHMEN in the Transvaal in 1881:

attitude of, *ii* 181

ESKINE, Mr., a volunteer:

in 1878 is killed by Langalibalele's followers at the Bushman's river pass, *i* 230

ESSELEN, Advocate Ewald:

acts as secretary to the Transvaal deputation when arranging the convention of London, *ii* 154

ETSHOWE, Norwegian mission station in Zululand:

on the 28rd of January 1879 is reached and occupied by a British force under Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson, *i* 309; on the 3rd of April is relieved by Lord Chelmsford, *i* 335

EUGENIE, ex-empress of France:

on the 16th of April 1880 arrives at Capetown in the *German*, and on the 6th of July leaves Capetown to return to England in the *Trojan*, *i* 389

EUROPEAN farmers in Betschuanaland:

position of, *ii* 143

EUROPEAN population of South Africa in 1873:

distribution of, *i* 2

EUROPEANS in Natal:

number of in 1878, *i* 226; and in 1884, *ii* 236

EUSTACE, Colonel John T.:

in November 1876 becomes resident with Krali, *i* 52

- Excise** duty on spirits distilled in the Cape Colony:
in 1878 is first imposed, i 116
- EXECUTIVE** council for the Transvaal under British rule:
on the 8th of November 1879 is created, ii 100
- EXHIBITION**, international:
on the 5th of April 1877 is opened in Capetown, i 50
- EXPENDITURE** :
of the Cape Colony, ii 229 ; and of Natal, ii 281
- EXPORTS** :
of the Cape Colony, ii 282 ; and of Natal, ii 284
- FALLS**, Captain :
in December 1880 is killed at Potchefstroom, ii 117
- FARMERS' Protection Association** :
in 1878 is formed in the Cape Colony, but some years later is merged in the Afrikander Bond, ii 186
- FAURE**, Rev. David P. :
acts as interpreter to the Transvaal deputation when arranging the convention of London, ii 154
- FIHLA**, petty Galeka chief :
on the 8rd of August 1877 is badly bruised at a Fingo wedding feast, which brings on the ninth Kaffir war, i 54
- FINGOS** in the Transkei :
make great progress towards civilisation, i 48
- FINI**, son of Tyali, Gaika chief :
in the war and rebellion of 1877-8 takes no part, i 88
- FLOODS** of December 1874 in the Cape Colony :
account of, i 16
- FORT Burgers**, on the Steelpoort river :
in September 1876 is built by the volunteers who are engaged in trying to suppress the rebellion of Sekukuni, i 264 ; on the 29th of that month is unsuccessfully attacked by the Bapedi, ib. ; in March 1878 is captured by the Bapedi, i 282 ; in September 1878 is reoccupied and made the base of operations against Sekukuni, i 285
- FORT Chelmsford** :
in April 1879 is constructed near the Inyezane river to serve as a depôt for supplies, i 886
- FORT Pearson** :
in 1878 is constructed in Natal near the mouth of the Tugela river, i 801
- FORT Tenedos** :
in January 1879 is constructed on the northern bank of the lower Tugela, i 808

FORT Weeber :

in September 1876 is built not far west of Sekukuni's kraal, i 265; in March 1878 it is abandoned, i 288

FRANCHISE Amendment Act of 1892 in Natal :

mention of, ii 209

FREER, the right honourable Sir Henry Bartle Edward :

on the 31st of March 1877 assumes duty as governor of the Cape Colony and high commissioner for South Africa, i 49; on the 4th of September 1877 arrives in King-Williamstown, i 57; he proceeds to Butterworth, and on the 15th of September invites Krelli to meet him, i 58; but the chief declines to do so, ib.; on the 5th of October he issues a proclamation deposing Krelli from being a chief, i 68; holds views different from those of Mr. Molteno regarding military operations, i 99; on the 6th of February 1878 dismisses the Molteno ministry, i 104; on the 26th of March 1878 leaves King-Williamstown to return to Capetown, i 107; which he reaches on the 7th of April, i 108; his action with regard to the late ministry is approved by parliament, i 114; in December 1878 he enters into communication with the Transvaal farmers, ii 88; in April 1879 he visits the farmers' camp at Kleinfontein, ii 86; on the 18th of that month has an interview with the Transvaal independence committee at Erasmus' Spruit, ib.; gives an account of what transpired at this meeting, ii 98; in November 1879 has an interview with a number of Cape colonists concerning Transvaal affairs, ii 97; alludes to confederation when opening and closing the Cape parliament, ii 188 and ii 191; recommends the annexation of the territory between the Atlantic ocean and the Transvaal, but unsuccessfully, ii 148; on the 15th of September 1880 retires and leaves South Africa, ii 191; on the 29th of May 1884 dies, ib.

FRONTIER Defence Commission of 1876 :

report of, i 29; its recommendations are rejected by the Cape parliament, i 80

FROST, Commandant (later Sir John) :

in January 1878 successfully sweeps the Gaika location, i 80; on the 4th of February 1878 inflicts severe punishment upon Gongubela, i 91; in March 1878 conducts operations against the rebel Gaikas in the Amatola forests, i 121

FROUDE, James Anthony :

from September 1874 to January 1875 makes a tour through South Africa, i 20; and again from June to November 1875, ib.

FULLER, Thomas E. (later Sir Thomas):

in 1878 is sent as emigration agent to England, i 4; in May 1880 in the Cape house of Assembly opposes the disarmament of the Basuto, but fruitlessly, ii 59

FYNN, Henry Francis:

in January 1888 becomes British resident with Ketshwayo, ii 12

FYNN, William:

in February 1878 becomes magistrate of Elliotdale, i 147

GABELA, Pondo counsellor:

is killed for having caused the death of Umqikela by witchcraft, i 215

GAIKA location west of the Kai:

is divided into farms in 1878, which are sold to Europeans, i 188

GALLWAY, Michael Henry, attorney-general of Natal:

on the 26th of February 1878 is appointed a member of the disputed boundary commission, i 294

GAMKA Windwai, disaffected Griqua:

mention of, ii 81; on the 22nd of June 1879 is captured, ii 85

GANGELIWE, principal Tembu chief:

in 1875 gets into trouble by murdering a Galeka woman, i 44; he is fined by the governor, but as the Galekas threaten war, he offers to become a British subject, i 45; and in December 1875 he and his tribe are taken over, i 46; in the war of 1877-8 with the Galekas he aids the colonial forces, i 62; in the rebellion of 1880 he is faithful to the Cape government, i 148; on the 30th of December 1884 he dies, i 152

GARCIA's pass:

in November 1879 a good road through is completed, ii 195

GARNER, J. H.:

in May 1876 becomes magistrate of Mount Frere, i 87

GRACLO, emigrant Tembu chief:

in September 1878 becomes a British subject, i 148; in October 1880 rises in rebellion against the Cape government, i 148; but is thoroughly subdued and loses everything, i 149

GERMAN adventurers in Pondoland:

account of, i 217

GERMAN immigrants:

account of, i 25

GERMANY:

in 1884 and later is seeking to obtain land in different parts of South Africa, ii 181

GINGINLOVU:

in January 1879 the military kraal at this place is burnt by Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson, i 808; on the 2nd of April 1879 the Zulus are defeated in a battle here, i 835

GLADSTONE, the right honourable William Ewart:

in his electioneering speeches is very bitter against the annexation of the Transvaal, ii 109; on the 28rd of April 1880 becomes prime minister of England, ib.; but then declines to annul the annexation, ii 110; is in a difficult position with regard to the Transvaal, ii 111; on the 24th of June 1885 is succeeded by Lord Salisbury as prime minister of England, ii 24

GLADWIN, F. P.:

in October 1877 becomes resident magistrate of Tsomo, i 44

GLYNN, Lieutenant-Colonel, of the first battalion of the twenty-fourth regiment:

on the 9th of December 1877 is placed in command of all the forces east of the Kei, i 80; on the 11th of January 1879 is in command of a column that crosses the Buffalo river into Zululand, i 810

GODLONTON, Hon. Robert:

on the 80th of May 1884 dies, ii 207

GOLD coinage of President Burgers:

account of, i 249

GOLDFIELDS:

early in 1882 are opened at De Kaap in the district of Lydenburg, ii 140; in 1888 very rich quartz reefs are discovered, and gold mining then becomes a settled industry, ii 140; in June 1885 the Witwatersrand begins to attract attention, ii 141

GOLDFIELDS MERCURY, organ of the English party in the Transvaal:

in April 1878 ceases to exist, i 297

GOLD mining in South Africa in 1878:

condition of, i 1

GONGUBELA, Tembu chief:

in January 1878 joins the enemies of the Cape Colony, i 88; an unsuccessful expedition is undertaken against him, i 90; but on the 6th of February he meets with a severe defeat, i 91; and in April 1878 he is captured, i 128

GONYA, alias Edmund Sandile:

in 1878 goes into rebellion against the Cape government, i 87; but on the 1st of July is apprehended, i 182

GORDON, Major-General Charles George:
transactions in South Africa of, ii 75

GOSHEN, land of:
on the 24th of October 1882 is proclaimed an independent republic,
ii 158

GRAAFF-REINET:
in August 1879 is connected by railway with Port Elizabeth,
ii 191; population in 1891 of, ii 238

GRAHAMSTOWN:
in September 1879 is connected by railway with Port Elizabeth,
ii 198; population in 1891 of, ii 238

GRAVING dock in Capetown:
on the 20th of October 1881 is opened for use, ii 205

GRNY, Sir George:
gives plots of land on individual tenure to selected Bantu, i 26

GRNYLING, Commandant J. C.:
in 1876 is the leader of a party of emigrants from the South
African Republic to Mossamedes, i 261

GRIFFITH, Colonel Charles Duncan:
in 1878 is in command of the colonial forces during the war with
the Galekas, i 57; on the 10th of October 1878 resumes duty
as governor's agent in Basutoland, ii 56; on the 8th of April
1879 fails in an attempt to take Morosi's mountain stronghold
by storm, ii 48; on the 22nd of December 1879 invites the
Basuto to surrender their arms voluntarily, but very few of
them comply, ii 58; on the 25th of August 1881 retires from
service, ii 71

GRIQUALAND East, chief magistracy of:
in December 1878 is formed of the districts of Kokstad, Umzim-
kulu, Matatiela, Mount Frere, Maclear, Qumbu, and Tsolo, i 41;
on the 1st of October 1879 the territory is annexed to the Cape
Colony, i 42; mode of government of the territory, i 43; in
1882 the district of Maclear is divided into two, Maclear and
Mount Fletcher, i 164; is enlarged by the addition of the
district of Mount Ayliff, i 166; population in 1885 of, i 171

GRIQUALAND West:
in the wars of 1876 to 1879 prominent part taken by the men
of, i 284

GRIQUAS:
early in 1878 some of the disaffected rebel, i 37; but the insur-
rection is speedily quelled, i 40

GWADANA :

on the 26th of September 1877 the police and Fingos are defeated in an engagement at, i 60

GWADISO, chief of a clan in Western Pondoland :

conduct in 1877 of, i 71

HALL, J. T. :

in 1875 is engaged to survey a route for a railroad from Delagoa Bay inland, i 254

HAMU, brother of Ketshwayo :

is regarded by the supreme chief with much jealousy, i 298 ; reasons for this, *ib.* ; on the 3rd of February 1879 he joins the British forces operating against Ketshwayo, i 328 ; in the partition of Zululand into thirteen districts by Sir Garnet Wolseley has one of them assigned to him, i 351 ; in October 1881 destroys about a thousand of the Abaqulusi, ii 2 ; early in May 1888 is attacked by Ketshwayo's army, but with Sibebe's assistance he utterly defeats it, ii 13 ; in the following month, however, he is again attacked, when he is beaten and is obliged to flee to a wild part of the country, *ib.* ; is relieved by Sibebe after the defeat of Ketshwayo at Ulundi, ii 16 ; after Sibebe's defeat submits to Dinizulu, ii 21

HANOVERIAN mission in Zululand :

particulars concerning, i 295

HARBOUR works in Table Bay :

progress of, ii 196

HARRIS, Captain :

in April 1880 reports upon the clans living south of the Molopo, ii 144

HARRISMITH conference :

particulars concerning, ii 218

HAVELOCK, Sir Arthur : governor of Natal :

on behalf of the British ministry enters into negotiations with the New Republic for a settlement of Zululand, ii 25

HAWTHORN, George W. :

in January 1879 becomes magistrate of Kokstad, i 42

HEADS of the government of the Cape Colony : succession of,

Sir Henry Barkly, governor and high commissioner, retired 31st March 1877

Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, governor and high commissioner, assumed duty 31st March 1877 ; retired 15th September 1880

Major-General H. H. Clifford, acting administrator, from 15th to 27th September 1880

Sir George Cumine Strahan, acting governor, from 27th September 1880 to 22nd January 1881

Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson, governor and high commissioner, assumed duty 22nd January 1881

Lieutenant-General Sir Leicester Smyth, acts as administrator during Sir Hercules Robinson's absence in Natal and the Transvaal in 1881, and again during Sir Hercules Robinson's absence in England to assist in arranging the convention of London

HEADS of the government of Natal: succession of,

Anthony Musgrave, Esqre., lieutenant-governor, retired 30th April 1878

Lieutenant-Colonel T. Milles, acting administrator, 30th April to 22nd July 1878

Sir Benjamin Chilley Campbell Pine, lieutenant-governor, assumed duty 22nd July 1878, retired 1st April 1875

Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, administrator, assumed duty 1st April, retired 3rd September 1875

Sir Henry Ernest Bulwer, lieutenant-governor, assumed duty 3rd September 1875, retired 20th April 1880

Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, governor of Natal and the Transvaal and high commissioner for South-Eastern Africa, assumed duty 28th June 1879, retired 27th April 1880. During this period the lieutenant-governor carried on the ordinary duties of the office

Lieutenant-Colonel William Bellairs, acting administrator, 20th April to 5th May 1880

Major-General H. H. Clifford, acting administrator, 5th May to 2nd July 1880

Major-General Sir George Pomeroy Colley, governor, assumed duty 2nd July 1880, killed at Majuba hill 27th February 1881

Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander acted as administrator from 17th August to 14th September 1880 during Sir George Colley's absence in the Transvaal

Sir Evelyn Wood, acting administrator, from 28th February to 22nd December 1881

Lieutenant-Colonel Redvers Buller from the 3rd of April to the 9th of August 1881 acted as administrator during Sir Evelyn Wood's absence in the Transvaal

Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Bullen Hugh Mitchell, acting administrator, from the 22nd of December 1881 to the 6th of March 1882

Sir Henry Ernest Bulwer, governor, assumed duty 6th March 1882, retired 23rd of October 1885

HEADS of the Transvaal government: succession of,

Rev. Thomas Francois Burgers, president, retired 12th April 1877
 Sir Theophilus Shepstone, administrator, from 12th April 1877 to March 1879

Lieutenant-Colonel William Owen Lanyon, administrator, from March 1879 to 8th August 1881

Sir Garnet Joseph Wolseley, governor, from 29th September 1879 to 27th April 1880

Triumvirate consisting of Messrs. Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, Petrus Jacobus Joubert, and Maryhinus Wenzel Pretorius, from 8th August 1881 to 8th May 1883

Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, president, from 8th May 1883 onward

HEIDELBERG, in the Cape Colony:

by the rising of the Doorn river in December 1875 much damage is caused to this village, i 16

HEIDELBERG, in the South African Republic:

on the 16th of December 1880 the Transvaal republican government is restored at, ii 116

HELM, Rev. Charles Daniel:

in 1875 becomes a missionary in Matabeleland, ii 178

HERSCHEL:

in April 1878 becomes a magisterial district of the Cape Colony, i II

HLANGWENIS:

in October 1874 those under Sidoyi become British subjects, i 35

HLUBIS:

in 1878 the clan under Langalibalele in Natal is entirely broken up, i 284; in July 1878 those under the chief Zibi are made subject to the Cape government, i 81; and in October 1874 those under the chief Ludidi become British subjects, i 35

HOFMEYR, Jan Hendrik:

exercises enormous influence for good in Cape politics, ii 186; on the 9th of May 1881 becomes minister without portfolio in Mr. Scanlen's cabinet, ii 70; on the 30th of November 1881 resigns this position, ii 198; in May 1884 declines the governor's invitation to form a ministry, ii 208

VON HOERNAN, Sub-Inspector:

on the 26th of September 1877 is killed in the engagement at Gwadana, i 61

HONEY, James:

in March 1883 is murdered in Betschuanaland, ii 170

HOOK, Captain David:

on the 20th of November 1879 assists in taking Morosi's mountain stronghold by storm, ii 58

HOPS, Hamilton:

in May 1877 is appointed magistrate of Quthing, ii 42; in April 1878 is transferred to Qumbu, ii 48; in July takes over the duty there, i 41; on the 28rd of October 1880 with two other officials is treacherously murdered by Umhlonhlo's people, i 158

HOPETOWN:

on the 12th of November 1884 the railway from Capetown is opened to, ii 194

HOSPITAL at Butterworth:

establishment and maintenance of, i 155

HOUSE duty act of 1878:

particulars concerning, i 116

HOUSES of parliament in Capetown:

on the 12th of May 1875 the foundation stone is laid, ii 196; progress of at the end of 1880, ib.; on the 15th of May 1885 are first used, ib.

HUDSON, George:

on the 7th of February 1880 becomes colonial secretary of the Transvaal, ii 118; in August 1881 becomes British resident in the Transvaal, ii 188

HUGENOT seminary for girls:

in February 1874 is opened at Wellington in the Cape Colony, i 18

HUT-TAX:

in 1875 is raised in Natal to fourteen shillings a year, i 248

HUTTON, Hon. Charles William:

on the 9th of May 1881 becomes treasurer in Mr. Scanlen's ministry, ii 70; on the 19th of March 1884 retires, ii 202

IBEKA:

on the 29th of September 1877 the Galekas are defeated in an engagement at, i 61

IMMIGRANTS from Europe:

particulars concerning the mechanics who arrived in the Cape Colony in 1878-5, i 5

IMMIGRATION:

owing to war at the close of 1877 state-aided immigration ceases, i 51; further particulars concerning, ii 197

IMMIGRATION of Europeans into Natal:

account of, ii 209

IMPORTS :

of the Cape Colony, *ii* 285; and of Natal, *ib.*

INDIANS :

settlement of in Natal, *ii* 209

INDIVIDUAL tenure of land :

is restricted to Europeans in the Transvaal, *ii* 82

INDUSTRIAL exhibition :

in September 1884 is opened in Capetown, *ii* 205

INDUSTRIES of South Africa before 1878 :

account of, *i* 1

INGOGO river :

engagement at. See Schuins Hoogte

INTOMBI river :

account of the disaster on the 12th of March 1879 at, *i* 329

INYEZANE :

on the 22nd of January 1879 a Zulu army is defeated at, *i* 308

ISIPINGO :

in February 1880 is connected by railway with Durban, *ii* 209

JACKSON, Maximilian :

in December 1878 is appointed special commissioner and commandant-general on the northern border of the Cape Colony, *ii* 88; he raises a force of five hundred men, but does not succeed in finding the marauders, *ii* 84

JACOBUS Afrikaner: see Afrikaner**JALI, son of the Barabe chief Umkayi :**

in March 1878 goes into rebellion against the Cape government, *i* 126; and enters the Amatola forest, *ib.*; on the 6th of April is killed in battle, *i* 128

JANISCH, Governor :

on learning of the disaster at Isandhlwana sends all the soldiers at Saint Helena to Natal, *i* 332

JOEL, son of Molapo, Basuto chief :

in July 1880 resists the order for disarmament, *ii* 60

JOHN Dunn : see Dunn**JOJO, chief of the Xesibes :**

is an unwilling vassal of the Pondos, *i* 167; on the 8th of July 1878 is received as a British subject, *ib.*

JONATHAN, son of Molapo, Basuto chief :

in July 1880 complies with the order for disarmament, *ii* 60; in May 1888 is defeated by Joel, when his women and children flee to the Orange Free State, *ii* 78

JORISSEN, Dr. E. J. P. :

in 1876 becomes attorney-general of the South African Republic,

ï 255; with Mr. Paul Kruger in 1877 visits England to endeavour to secure the independence of the Transvaal, ï 278; but fails in his object, ï 279; on the 18th of July 1893 ceases to be state attorney of the Transvaal, ï 189

JOSIAH Jenkins, a Pondo:

account of, ï 88; conduct of, ï 189

JOUBERT, Commandant Frans:

leads the Transvaal burghers in the engagement at Bronkhorst Spruit, ï 119

JOUBERT, Pieter Jacobus:

in 1875-6 acts as president of the South African Republic during the absence of Mr. Burgers in Europe, ï 254; in 1878 with Mr. Paul Kruger proceeds to Europe to endeavour to obtain the restoration of the independence of the Transvaal, ï 288; but returns without success, ï 289; in February 1890 visits Sir Bartle Frere in Natal to ascertain if any assistance can be expected from him, ï 88; in April 1890 is sent with Mr. Kruger on a mission to the Cape Colony, ï 110; where he pleads successfully against confederation, ï 189; in December 1890 is elected a member of the triumvirate to carry on the Transvaal government provisionally, also commandant-general of the Transvaal burghers, ï 115; on the 28th of January 1891 defeats the British forces under Major-General Colley at Lang's Nek, ï 121; on the 6th of March concludes an armistice with Major-General Wood, ï 127; and on the 21st terms of peace are agreed upon, *ib.*; in 1892 and 1893 conducts the operations against the tribe of Mapoch, ï 187; on the 30th of August 1894 arranges a treaty of peace between Montsiwa and the Goshenites, which is repudiated by the British authorities, ï 164; in December 1895 subdues the Koranas under David Massou, ï 177; is invited to become president of the New Republic, but declines, ï 22

JUDGE, Edward:

in November 1878 is sent as special commissioner to the northern border, ï 88

KAFFIR women and children:

treatment of those made prisoners in the rebellion of 1878, ï 122

KAFFRABIA (the territory between the river Kei and Natal):

condition of in 1878, ï 80

KAKAMAS labour colony:

account of, ï 89 *et seq.*

KALABANI:

disaster on the 19th of October 1890 at, ï 63

KAMA, Christian Gunukwebe chief:

on the 25th of October 1875 dies, and is succeeded by his son William Shaw Kama, i 127

KAMBULA:

on the 29th of March 1879 a great Zulu army is defeated at, i 880

KNATE award:

effect of the, i 250

KENTANI:

battle at on the 7th of February 1878, i 92

KENTANI, in the Transkei:

in 1878 is created a magisterial district, i 187; mode of settlement of, i 127; on the 26th of August 1885 is annexed to the Cape Colony, i 142

KETSHWAYO, supreme chief of the Zulu tribe:

reference to, i 98; in September 1878 claims land north of the Pongolo river, i 296; account of the war with, i 306; after the battle of Ulundi conceals himself for a time, but on the 28th of August 1879 he is captured, i 346; and is sent to Capetown, where he is confined in the castle as a prisoner of state, *ib.*; after a time he is removed to a small farm named Oude Molen, ii 4; his restoration is desired by many Zulus to prevent internal strife, ii 2; and even by the Transvaal government for the same reason, ii 8; but the Natal colonists are strongly opposed to it, *ib.*; he is permitted by the British government to visit England, ii 4; and in August 1882 he reaches London, where he becomes the lion of the day, ii 5; he is very kindly received by her Majesty the queen, *ib.*; and is allowed to return to Zululand under certain conditions, *ib.*; on the 10th of January 1883 he lands at Port Durnford, ii 73; at Entonjaneni on the 29th of the same month he is restored to his people by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, *ib.*; as soon as he is at liberty he protests against the division of Zululand, ii 11; on the 21st of July 1883 he is attacked by Sibebe, when he is completely ruined, but manages to escape, ii 14; when trying to conceal himself he is discovered and wounded, but not mortally, ii 15; on the 9th of August he reaches the Inkandhla forest in the reserve, *ib.*; on the 16th of October 1883 through Mr. Fynn's efforts he goes to reside with Mr. Osborn at Etshawe, ii 16; where on the 8th of February 1884 he dies, ii 17; his remains are interred in the Inkandhla, *ib.*

KETSHWAYO, eldest son of the Pondo chief Umqikela:

in October 1886 invades the Xesibe district with a large army

and does much damage, i 204; on the 15th of November 1886 dies suddenly, i 210

KHAMA, chief of the Bamangwato:
reference to, ii 179

KHAMANYANI, chief of the Bakatla:

is chastised by Commandant Paul Kruger for insolence, and then flees from the Transvaal and is given shelter by the Bakwena chief Setaheli, ii 177; upon whom he makes war as soon as he gains strength, *ib.*; in 1875 dies, and is succeeded by his son Linshwe, *ib.*

KIMBERLEY, **EARL**:

on the 28th of April 1880 succeeds Sir Michael Hicks Beach as secretary of state for the colonies, i 141; on the 17th of December 1882 is transferred from the colonial to the India office, ii 158

KIMBERLEY:

on the 10th of January 1884 there is a great explosion of dynamite at, ii 202; in November 1885 the railway from Cape-town is open to, ii 181; population in 1891 of, ii 288

KING-WILLIAMSTOWN:

population in 1891 of, ii 288

KIVA, Galeka chief:

takes command of the warriors of Mapasa's clan who remain faithful to the Galeka cause when their chief abandons it, i 60; on the 24th of December 1877 crosses the Kai to the Gaika location, and appeals to the Rarabe clans to aid Kveli in his time of need, i 81; which appeal is successful, i 82; on the 18th of January 1878 commands the Galeka army in an engagement, i 85; on the 7th of February 1878 leads one of the Galeka columns in the battle of Kentani, i 94; on the 8th of March is killed in action, i 96

KLAAS Lukas, Korana captain:

in 1879 is at war with the Cape government, ii 81

KONGAS atrocities:

trials connected with the, ii 87

KOK, Adam, Griqua captain:

in October 1874 transfers his country to the Cape government i 84; on the 30th of December 1875 dies, i 85

KOKSTAD, district of:

in October 1874 is annexed to the British dominions, i 85

KOKSTAD, town of:

description of, i 171

KOKSTAD Political Association:

action in 1888 of the, i 201

KOMGHA:

in December 1877 is created a magisterial district of the Cape Colony, i 51

KONA, son of the Gaika chief Makoma:

in the war and rebellion of 1877-8 takes no part, i 88

KOTZE, Advocate:

in March 1877 becomes a judge in the South African Republic, i 271

KOYI, William:

mention of, i 28

KRELI, head of the Xosa tribe:

having made war upon the colonial forces, on the 5th of October 1877 is deposed from his chieftainship by a proclamation of Sir Bartle Frere, i 68; after the battle of Kentani gives up the contest, and retires into Bomvanaland, i 95; on the 28th of June 1881 surrenders with two hundred men, states that he relinquishes his chieftainship, and promises to be obedient to the government, *ib.*; a tract of land in Elliotdale is purchased by the government and assigned to him as a residence, i 198; in November 1888 offers to assist the government against the Pondos, i 207

KRUGER, Stephanus Johannes Paulus:

in 1874 becomes a member of the executive council of the South African Republic, i 250; in March 1877 becomes vice president of the South African Republic, i 271; a little later in the same year with Dr. Jorissen visits England to endeavour to recover the independence of the Transvaal, i 278; but fails in his object, i 279; in 1878 with Mr. Pieter Jacobus Joubert proceeds to England again on a similar mission, i 288; but returns without success, i 289; gives some sensible advice to Lord Chelmsford, which is unheeded, i 811; in January 1879 he refuses to accept an appointment under the British government, *ii* 85; in April 1880 with Mr. P. J. Joubert is sent by the Transvaal Independence Committee to the Cape Colony in order to endeavour to frustrate the government scheme of confederation, *ii* 110; in which he is successful, *ii* 111; in December 1880 is elected a member of a triumvirate to carry on the Transvaal government provisionally, *ii* 115; in 1888 is elected president of the Transvaal, and on the 8th of May of that year takes the oath of office, *ii* 188; early in 1884 visits

England as a member of a deputation from the Transvaal, and concludes with the earl of Derby the convention of London, *ii* 158

LAING, John:

in February 1878 becomes commissioner of crown lands and public works of the Cape Colony, *i* 105; on the 9th of May 1881 retires from office, *ii* 69

LAMBERT, Lieutenant-Colonel W.:

in January 1878 successfully sweeps the Tshitshaba valley, *i* 89

LANCASTRIA:

wreck of the, *ii* 194

LAND speculators in the Transvaal:

account of, *ii* 114

LAND tenure:

particulars concerning, *i* 26; see Individual

LANGALIBALELE, Hlubi chief:

account of his settlement in Natal, *i* 227; is regarded by the Bantu as a powerful rainmaker, *i* 228; his young men acquire guns at the diamond fields which he refuses to have registered, *ib.*; he enters into seditious communications with other chiefs, *ib.*; an armed party is sent to his location to enforce obedience to the law, *i* 229; upon the approach of which he flees with his cattle over the Drakensberg, *ib.*; on the top of the mountain his cattle are intercepted, *ib.*; when his followers open fire upon the volunteers and kill three Europeans and two blacks, *i* 230; stronger forces are then set in operation against him, *ib.*; on the 11th of December 1878 he is captured at Leribe in Basutoland, *i* 238; he is tried by a special court and sentenced to confinement and banishment for life, *ib.*; the Cape parliament comes to the aid of Natal, and he is confined on Robben Island, *i* 234; from which he is removed by order of the secretary of state for the colonies, *i* 236; in August 1875 he is placed as a kind of state prisoner on a small farm near Mowbray in the Cape peninsula, *i* 237; where he remains until April 1887, when he is permitted to return to Natal, *ib.*; effect in Kaffraria of the rebellion of, *i* 88

LANG'S Nek:

on the 26th of January 1881 the British forces under Major-General Colley are defeated at, *ii* 121

LANYON, Lieutenant-Colonel William Owen (later Sir Owen):

in March 1879 becomes acting administrator of the Transvaal, and in June 1880 is confirmed in the appointment, *ii* 84; has very

limited power, *ib.*; on the 24th of March 1879 has an interview with a deputation from the Transvaal independence committee, *ii* 85

LEARY, J. Glen :

on the 28th of March 1894 becomes resident magistrate of Ngceleni, *i* 222

LEARY, W. Power :

in 1894 becomes magistrate of Umsikaba, *i* 222

LEFTHANDED clan of the Koranas :

in 1878 is reduced to submission and disarmed by Colonel Warren, *ii* 144

LEGISLATIVE council of Natal :

in 1878 is enlarged, *i* 225; in 1875 undergoes a great change, *i* 241; on the 15th of July 1885 favours the annexation of Zululand and Tongaland, *ii* 24; proceedings during the session of 1874, *i* 288; during the first session of 1875, *i* 240 and 245; during the second session of 1875, *i* 242; during the session of 1878, *ii* 185; during the session of 1880, *ii* 206; during the session of 1881, *ii* 210; during the session of 1882, *ib.*; during the session of 1883, *ii* 212; during the session of 1884, *ii* 214; during the session of 1885, *ii* 24; during the session of 1886, *i* 202 and *ii* 26

LEGISLATIVE council of the Transvaal :

on the 8th of November 1879 a purely nominated council is created, *ii* 100

LEGOLWANA, Bapedi chieftainess :

in February 1878 assists her brother Sekukuni against the Transvaal government, *i* 281; on the 5th of April her kraal is partly taken and destroyed, *i* 288

LEONARD, James Weston :

on the 28th of January 1881 becomes attorney-general of the Cape Colony, *ii* 200; on the 9th of May of the same year retires from office, *ii* 208; on the 1st of July 1882 becomes attorney-general again, *ii* 200; on the 18th of May 1884 retires from office, *ii* 69

LEBOTHOPI, great son of the Basuto chief Letsie :

in 1878 assists the government against the rebel chief Langelibalele, *i* 282; and in 1879 leads two thousand men against the rebel Baputi clan under Morosi, *ii* 26; in July 1880 resists disarmament of the Basuto tribe, *ii* 60

LETSIE, paramount chief of the Basuto tribe :

in July 1880 professes to comply with the order of disarmament, but is insincere, *ii* 60

LEVY, Charles J.:

in 1878 becomes magistrate of Southeyville, i 148

LEYDS, Dr. W. J.

in July 1888 becomes state attorney of the Transvaal, ii 189

LIBODE, in Western Pondoland:

in March 1894 is created a magisterial district, i 222

LIEFELDT, M. W.:

in August 1876 becomes magistrate of Matatiele, i 40

LIGHTHOUSE at Cape Saint Francis:

in July 1878 is opened for use, ii 195

LINSENB, chief of the Bakatla:

reference to, ii 177

VON LINSINGEN, Commandant:

in 1878 takes part in the operations against the rebel Barabas, i 125; on the 14th of November 1890 is killed by rebels in the Tranakel, i 158

LOBENGULA, chief of the Matabele:

in May 1878 concedes to Mr. Gilbert McArthur the right to prospect for gold in Mashonaland, ii 177; receives some English officers in a very friendly manner, ii 188

LONSDALE's horse:

the corps so called is raised in the Cape Colony for service in Natal and Zululand, i 882

LOUIS Napoleon, once prince imperial of France:

on the 1st of June 1879 is killed in Zululand, i 889

LOWE, Major Stanley:

in July 1884 raises a corps of one hundred mounted men for service in Betshuanaland, ii 159

LUNEBURG:

account of the German settlement of, i 296

LUSIZI:

account of the battle of, i 69

LYDENBURG alluvial goldfields:

in 1878 are opened up, i 248

LYDENBURG:

during the Transvaal war of independence is held by a small British garrison, ii 120

MACKENZIE, Rev. John:

early in 1884 advocates the cause of Mankoroane in England, ii 154; on the 12th of April 1884 is appointed deputy commissioner for Betshuanaland, ii 157; announces a British protectorate over Stellaland, ii 158; on the 22nd of May 1884 declares Montsiwa under British protection, ii 159; the Trans-

vaal government objects to his appointment, *ii* 160; as does the ministry of the Cape Colony, *ib*; so on the 20th of August 1884 he resigns his office, *ib*.

MACKINNON, petty Ndlambe chief:

account of, *i* 74; on the outbreak of the war of 1877 takes refuge in the Cape Colony, *i* 75; in November he is informed that he must surrender his arms, when rather than do so he flees to the Gaika location, where he is protected, *ib*; but after a few days he submits to the government, *i* 76; a little later goes into rebellion, *i* 83

MACLEAN, Captain Alexander:

on the 1st of July 1879 captures the remnant of Pofadder's gang in the Kalahari desert, *ii* 86; and on the 20th of the same month kills Donker Malgas in action and captures all of his followers, *ib*.

MACLEAN, Captain Allan:

on the 20th of November 1879 assists in taking Morosi's mountain stronghold by storm, *ii* 58

MACLEAB residency:

in the rebellion of 1880 is gallantly defended by Mr. J. R. Thomson, *i* 158

MACMAC:

in 1878 is so named by President Burgers, *i* 249

MAFEKING:

in October 1881 is occupied by the Barolong chief Montsiwa, *ii* 150; is strongly fortified, *ib*.; is invested by Moshete's adherents, *ii* 151

MAFETENG:

on the 21st of September 1880 is attacked by a Basuto army, but without success, *ii* 61

MAFISA:

explanation of the Basuto custom of, *ii* 78

MAHALI, petty Bapedi chief:

in June 1878 is defeated and his stronghold is destroyed, *i* 284

MAIL service overseas:

in 1878 is opened monthly along the east coast to Aden, *i* 6; particulars concerning the new contracts with the Union and Currie companies, *i* 6 and 7

MAITLAND cemeteries:

in January 1886 are opened for use, *ii* 205

MAJUBA hill:

on the 27th of February 1881 is the scene of a disaster to the British force under Sir George Colley, *ii* 128

MAKAULA, Baca chief:

in September 1906 dies, *i* 87

MAKOMA, Gaika chief:

on the 9th of September 1873 dies on Robben Island, *i* 28

MAKWAISSBERG:

on the 31st of October 1890 is the scene of a disaster, *ii* 68

MALMESBURY:

population in 1891 of, *ii* 238

MAMPURU, half brother and rival of Sekukuni:

is appointed principal chief of the Bapedi by Sir Garnet Wolseley, *ii* 184; on the 18th of August 1882 murders Sekukuni, *ii* 185; and then takes shelter with the tribe of Mapoch, *ib.*; who refuse to surrender him to the Transvaal government, *ii* 186; but as the result of war on the 8th of July 1883 he is surrendered to Commandant-General Joubert, *ii* 188; he is tried, and condemned to death, and on the 22nd of November 1881 is hanged, *ii* 189

MANKOROANE, chief of a Batlapin clan:

carries on war with the Korana captain David Massou, *ii* 146; enlists Europeans to assist him, *ib.*; on the 26th of July 1882 agrees to peace and assigns land as payment of his assistants, *ii* 147; on the 3rd of May 1884 cedes to her Majesty the queen full authority over his country and his people, *ii* 158; account of after 1885, *ii* 178

MAPASA, Galeka chief:

is at feud with his cousin Kreli, *i* 58; his people bring on the ninth Kaffir war, *i* 54; but as soon as hostilities commence he abandons the Galeka cause and with a portion of his clan obtains protection in the Cape Colony, *i* 60; in November 1877 when Kreli's Galekas are supposed to be beaten and dispersed, his people are disarmed and sent back to their old home, *i* 75

MAPOCH, tribe of:

description of, *ii* 185; occupies a tract of land very difficult for Europeans to operate in, *ib.*; refuses to surrender Mampuru, and sets the government at defiance, *ii* 186; a commando of two thousand men is called out to reduce it to submission, *ib.*; which on the 30th of October 1882 takes the field, *ii* 187; on the 19th of December 1882 five petty chiefs with their people surrender, *ib.*; on the 2nd of January 1883 a stronghold named by the Europeans Boschberg is taken, *ii* 188; and on the 26th of February another still stronger named Vlugikraal is occupied, *ib.*; on the 8th of April 1883 the most important sub-chief of the tribe surrenders, *ib.*; on the 9th of July five of

the sub-chiefs surrender, *ib.*; and on the following day the principal chief, who was called Njabel by the Europeans, with eight thousand of his people surrender, *ii* 189; he is tried and condemned to death, but the sentence is commuted into imprisonment for life, *ib.*

MARABASTAD:

during the Transvaal war of independence is held by a small British garrison, *ii* 120

MARITZBURG:

in December 1880 is connected by railway with Durban, *ii* 207; improvements in, *ii* 216; population in July 1884, *ii* 286

MARRIAGE law of Natal for Bantu:

effect of, *i* 227; in 1875 it is repealed, *i* 248

MARSHALL, Major-General:

on the 21st of May 1879 visits Isandhlwana and covers the remains of many of the dead there with mounds of stones, *i* 828; in April he had been placed in command of the cavalry brigade acting in Zululand, *i* 887; at the close of the Zulu war he returns to Europe, *i* 846

MARTINUS-WESSELSTROOM:

during the Transvaal war of independence is held by a small British garrison, *ii* 120

MASARWA:

are met and described by Captain Patterson, *ii* 179

MASERU:

on the 10th of October 1880 is attacked by a strong Basuto army under Masupha, but is not taken, *ii* 62; on the 28th of the same month is unsuccessfully attacked again, *ii* 68

MASS meeting of the Transvaal farmers on the 10th of January 1879: particulars concerning, *ii* 88

MASS meeting of the Transvaal farmers at Kleinfontein:

in April 1879 is visited by Sir Bartle Frere, *ii* 85; particulars concerning the meeting, *ib.*

MASS meeting of the Transvaal farmers at Wonderfontein in December 1879:

particulars concerning, *ii* 105

MASSOU Riet Tsaibosch, Korana chief:

on the 11th of June 1878 dies at Mamusa at a very advanced age, *ii* 145

MASUPHA, third son in rank of the Basuto chief Mosheesh:

chafes under the restraint of a magistrate, *ii* 54; in July 1880 rises in rebellion against the Cape government, *ii* 60; and a

little later declares he will be satisfied with nothing short of independence, *ii* 71; in 1888 refuses to come under imperial rule, *ii* 79

MATANZIMA, son of Sandile:

on the 28rd of February 1878 with from 800 to 1,000 Gaikas attacks a colonial force on the bank of the Thomas river, but is beaten off with very heavy loss, *i* 118; on the 8th of July he is apprehended, *i* 182

MATANZIMA, emigrant Tembu chief:

in September 1878 becomes a British subject, *i* 143

MATATIELL, district in Griqualand East:

in October 1874 is annexed to the British dominions, *i* 85; in October 1880 the Basuto in the district rise in rebellion, *i* 156

MATHEBI's Kop:

on the 4th of July 1876 is taken by the commando under President Burgers, *i* 262

MATLABE, chief of a section of the Barolong:

is held in high regard by the Transvaal farmers, *ii* 149

McGILLIVRAY, James Scott:

fate of, *ii* 150

McTAGGART, Commandant:

in April 1879 proceeds to the northern border with a party of volunteers, *ii* 84; on the 27th of April breaks up Klaas Lukas's band, *ib.*; and shortly afterwards captures nearly the whole of Pofadder's band, *ii* 85

MELVILL, Lieutenant:

escapes from Isandhlwana with the colours of his regiment, but is killed after reaching Natal, *i* 815

MENZIWE, Fingo chief in Tembuland:

account of, *i* 44

MERRINSKY, Rev. A., superintendent of the Berlin Mission:

in 1876 exercises great influence with the Bapedi tribe, *i* 258 and 266

MERRIMAN, J. X. (later the right honourable), commissioner of crown lands and public works:

on the 6th of February 1878 is deprived of office by Sir Bartle Frere, *i* 104; on the 9th of May 1881 becomes commissioner of crown lands and public works in Mr. Scanlen's ministry, *ii* 70; in 1888 goes to England in connection with the Basuto difficulty, *ii* 78; on the 18th of May 1894 retires, *ii* 204

MERRIMAN, Thomas R.:

in February 1878 becomes magistrate of Idutywa, *i* 44

MSTHLOKAZULU, son of the Zulu sub-chief Sirayo:

on the 26th of July 1878 with some others crosses the Buffalo river into Natal, where he seizes two fugitive wives of his father, Sirayo, both are murdered, i 295; Sir Henry Bulwer asks Ketchwayo to deliver him for trial, but meets with a refusal, *ib.*; on the 26th of August 1879 he surrenders, but it is found that there is no law under which he can be tried for the raid into Natal, i 345; on the 21st of July 1883 assists Ketchwayo to escape from Ulundi, ii 14

MEYER, Lucas Johannes:

is elected president of the New Republic, ii 22; in October 1893 is a member of a deputation sent to Maritzburg to confer with Sir Arthur Havelock, ii 25

MILITARY measures for the defence, of Natal towards the close of 1878:

particulars concerning, i 301

MILLER, Hon. John:

in February 1878 becomes treasurer of the Cape Colony, i 105; on the 9th of September 1880 retires as treasurer, but remains minister without portfolio; on the 8th of May 1881, vacates office with the ministry, ii 69

MILLES, Lieutenant-Colonel T.:

from the 30th of April to the 22nd of July 1878 acts as administrator of Natal, i 224

MITCHELL, Major Charles Bullen Hugh:

in June 1878 becomes colonial secretary of Natal, ii 210; (Lieutenant-Colonel) on the 22nd of December 1881 becomes acting administrator of Natal, *ib.*

MNYAMANA, principal induna under the Zulu chief Ketchwayo:

commands the Zulu army at the battle of Kambula, i 330; objects to the diminution of territory given to Ketchwayo when he was sent back from England, ii 11; on the 30th of March 1883 with a large army attacks Sibebu, but is defeated with very heavy loss, ii 15; on the 16th of March 1884 defeats Sibebu in a battle, ii 18; makes overtures to some Transvaal farmers to assist Dinizulu against Sibebu, ii 19; on the 23rd of May 1884 with the other leaders of Dinizulu's party agrees to give eight hundred farms in Zululand for assistance against Sibebu and protection thereafter, ii 20; having gained his object, disputes the right of the farmers to the ground ceded to them, but unsuccessfully, ii 23

MOFFAT, Rev. John Smith:

is the first resident magistrate of Taung, ii 172

MOFFAT, Ven. Dr. Robert:

on the 10th of August 1888 dies in England, *ii* 206

MOLAPO:

second son in rank of the Basuto chief Mosheah: on the 28th of June 1880 dies, *ii* 60

MOLTENO: John Charles (later Sir John):

in the session of the Cape parliament in 1875 causes an act to be passed for the removal of Langalibalele from Robben Island to the mainland, *i* 286; holds views different from those of Sir Bartle Frere concerning military matters, *i* 99; on the 6th of February 1878 is dismissed from office by the governor, *i* 104; on the 9th of May 1881 becomes colonial secretary in Mr. Scanlen's ministry, *ii* 70; on the 1st of July 1882 retires, *ii* 200

MOLTENO reservoir in Capetown:

particulars concerning, *ii* 204

MONI, chief of the Bomvanas:

in January 1878 offers to become a British subject, *i* 146; and is accepted, *ib.*

MONOPOLIES:

are granted profusely by the government of the Transvaal, *ii* 189

MONTSIWA, chief of a section of the Barolong tribe:

on the second of May 1881 attacks a captain under Matlabe, *ii* 146; carries on war with Moshete, *ii* 148; engages Europeans to assist him, *ib.*; in October 1881 is driven from Sehuba, and retires to Mafeking, *ii* 150; on the 24th of October 1882 cedes a large tract of territory to Europeans to obtain peace, *ii* 151; having gathered a good crop repudiates his treaty with Moshete, *ii* 159; consequently on the 10th of May 1884 the war is renewed, *ib.*; on the 22nd of May 1884 cedes to her Majesty the queen full authority over his country and his people, *ib.*; on the 31st of July 1884 is attacked by the Goshenites and suffers heavy loss, *ii* 161; after being relieved by the expedition under General Warren tries to give trouble, *ii* 171; in 1896 dies, *ii* 145

MORIARTY, Captain D. B.:

on the 12th of March 1879 is killed by Zulus at the Intombi river, *i* 829

MOROKA, district of:

in July 1884 becomes part of the Orange Free State, but remains a reserve for the use of the Barolong, *ii* 226

MOROKO, chief of the Barolong at Thaba Ntshu:

in April 1880 dies, *ii* 226

MOROSI, chief of the Baputi clan of the Basuto tribe :

account of, ii 41; before May 1877 he is left by the Cape government almost without control, ii 42; on the 28th of January 1879 forcibly releases his son Doda from prison, and goes into rebellion against the Cape government, ii 44; in a series of engagements loses nearly the whole of his cattle, ii 47; he occupies a mountain stronghold, which he is able to defend for many months, *ib.*; on the 20th of November 1879 it is taken by storm, and he is killed in the final encounter, ii 58

MORRIS, Rev. James :

in the rebellion of 1880 conducts a party to the relief of Tsolo, i 160

MOSHESH, founder of the Basuto tribe :

fictitious pedigree of, i 174

MOSHETH, chief of a Barolong clan :

is at feud with Montsiwa, ii 148; engages Europeans to assist him, *ib.*; on the 17th of October 1881 attacks Montsiwa, ii 149; on the 24th of October 1882 cedes a tract of land to his European assistants, ii 152

MOUNT Ayliff, district of :

in 1878 is added to the chief magistracy of Griqualand East, i 166; account of the dispute between the Pondos and the Xesibes, i 167; on the 25th of October 1886 the district is annexed to the Cape Colony, i 170

MOUNT Fletcher, district of :

in 1882 is cut off from Maclear, i 164

MOUNT Frere, district of :

in March 1876 is annexed to the British dominions, i 87

MOYSEY, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles :

surveys the western boundary of the Transvaal according to the convention of Pretoria, ii 182

MQANDULI (in Tembuland) :

in 1876 is created a magisterial district, i 47

MTHETWA tribe :

attempt in 1879 to restore the, i 350

MUSGRAVE, Anthony, lieutenant-governor of Natal :

on the 30th of April 1878 retires, i 224

NATAL :

heads of the government of : see Heads

NATAL :

in 1878 the legislative council is enlarged, i 225; in 1875 it is swamped with nominee members, i 261; in 1875 the Native High Court is created, i 242; and the marriage law for Bantu

is repealed, i 248; in 1878 Bantu law is codified, i 248; in 1891 the code is improved, *ib.*; in 1890 the legislative council is restored to its condition before 1875, ii 208; account of European immigration under a state-aided system, i 247; population in 1878, i 245; and on the 31st of December 1884, ii 286; public debt in 1875, i 245; and at the close of 1884, ii 286; settlement of Indians in, ii 209; in October 1886 the legislative council passes a resolution in favour of the annexation of Pondoland to that colony, i 202

NATIONAL Bank of the Orange Free State:

in June 1877 is established, ii 225

NAVAL brigade:

in December 1877 is supplied by her Majesty's ship *Active* to serve in the Kaffir war, i 79; on the 19th of November 1878 the same brigade lands in Natal, i 801; on the 1st of January 1879 a brigade from her Majesty's ship *Tenedos* lands in Natal, i 801; in May the men of the *Tenedos* return to their ship, i 887; on the 5th of March 1879 a strong brigade from her Majesty's ship *Shah* is landed at Natal, i 882; and on the 16th of the same month is followed by a brigade from her Majesty's ship *Boadicea*, i 888; in July the men of the *Active*, *Shah*, and *Boadicea* return to their ships, i 846; in 1881 a naval brigade serves against the Transvaal burghers, ii 120

NDAMASI, chief of the western Pondos:

is practically almost independent of his brother Umqikela, i 176; on the 29th of August 1876 dies, and is succeeded by his son Nquliso, i 177

NDILOBANE Mountain:

account of the disaster on the 28th of March 1879 at, i 880

NDIMBA, Ndlambe chief:

in December 1877 goes into rebellion, i 88; on the 11th of June 1878 he surrenders, i 182

NDWANDWE tribe:

attempt in 1879 to restore the, i 850

NEHEMIAH Mosheah:

gives much trouble to the colonial authorities, i 86

NELMAPIUS, Mr.:

obtains a monopoly for the distillation of spirits from the Transvaal Government, ii 187; destroys the entrances to caverns with dynamite in the Mapoch war, *ib.*

NEWCASTLE, in Natal:

in 1878 is separated from Klip River and becomes an electoral division, i 225

NEWDIGATE, Major-General :

in April 1879 is placed in command of a division of the forces in Zululand, *i* 388

NEW Republic :

on the 16th of August 1884 is proclaimed, and assumes a protectorate over Zululand, *ii* 22; is placed in a bad position by two of its citizens killing Dabulamanzi in the reserve, *ii* 25; on the 22nd of October 1886 enters into an agreement with Sir Arthur Havelock, by which its independence within narrow limits is acknowledged and its protectorate over Zululand ceases, *ii* 26; on the 11th of September 1887 is incorporated in the South African Republic, *ii* 27

NGQELENI, in Western Pondoland :

in March 1894 is created a magisterial district, *i* 222

NGUBO, Galeka counsellor :

account of, *i* 58

VAN NIMKERK, Gerrit Jacobus :

is leader of the Europeans who found Stellaland, *ii* 147; is administrator of that republic, *ii* 148

NINTH Kaffir War : see War**NJABEL : see Mapoch****NORBURY, Henry F. :**

reference to book written by, *i* 299

NORRIS-NEWMAN, Charles L. : reference to book written by, *i* 299**NORTHERN border war : *ii* 29 *et seq.*****NORWEGIAN immigrants :**

are located at Marburg in Natal, *ii* 212

NORWEGIAN mission in Zululand :

particulars concerning, *i* 295

NOTIFICATION to the Zulu people :

as made on the 11th of January 1879 by Sir Bartle Frere, *i* 308

NQUILISO :

on the 29th of August 1876 succeeds his father Ndamasi as chief of the western Pondos, *i* 177; in 1877 professes friendship towards the Cape government, *i* 71; on the 17th of July 1878 cedes to the Cape government a strip of land at the mouth of the Umzimvubu, *i* 178; and is acknowledged as independent of Umqikela, *ib.*; friendly dealings with, *i* 191; on the 19th of March 1894 becomes a British subject, *i* 221

OBA, *alias* Ngoniyama, son of Tyali, Gaika chief :

purchases three farms on the western bank of the Keiakama river, *i* 27; in the rebellion and war of 1877-8 takes no part, *i* 80;

in March 1878 has an interview with Governor Sir Bartle Frere at Lovedale, i 107

ORANGE Free State:

resolution of the volksraad in May 1877 regarding the annexation of the Transvaal to the British dominions, i 276; events in the, ii 221; population in 1881 of, ii 227

ORANGE groves in the western districts of the Cape Colony: are destroyed by the dorthesia, i 14

ORPEN, Joseph Miller:

in July 1878 is appointed magistrate with some clans in Kaffraria, i 81; in October 1878 receives the Pondonsi chiefs Umhlonhlo and Umditswa as British subjects, i 82; raises a force to oppose the rebel Hlubi chief Langalibalele, ib.; is obliged to deal sternly with Umditahwa and Umhlonhlo, i 88; in October 1874 assumes authority over the Griqua territory previously under Adam Kok, i 84; in April 1875 resigns and leaves the territory, i 40; in May 1880 presents a petition from Letsie to the Cape house of assembly against the confiscation of any part of the district of Quthing, ii 58; on the 25th of August 1881 becomes acting governor's agent in Basutoland, ii 71; tries to induce Letsie to enforce order, but without success, ib.; on the 16th of March 1883 is succeeded by Captain Matthew S. Blyth, ii 77

OSBORN, Melmoth:

in 1877 becomes colonial secretary of the Transvaal, i 280; in January 1880 becomes British agent in Zululand, ii 118; at the end of March 1883 is stationed at Etahowe in the Zulu reserve as British resident commissioner and supreme chief, ii 12

OSTRICHES, tame, in the Cape Colony in 1891:

number of, ii 288

OSTRICH farming:

benefits derived from, i 14

OUUDTSHOORN: population in 1891 of, ii 288

OVERSEA commerce of South Africa:

amount of, ii 286

PAARDEKRAAL:

in December 1880 a mass meeting is held at, when it is resolved to restore the South African Republic, ii 115

PAARL:

population in 1891 of, ii 288

PALI, chief of the Amatahezi:

in May 1886 is made a British subject, i 198

PARLIAMENT of the Cape Colony :

proceedings in the session of 1873, i 8; in the session of 1874, i 11 and 284; in the session of 1875, i 7, 19, 42, 43, and 236; in the special session of 1875, i 21; in the session of 1876, i 9, 22, and 51; in the session of 1877, i 42 and 51; in the session of 1878, i 108 to 117, 184, and 190; in the session of 1879, ii 186; in the session of 1880, i 141 and ii 188; in the session of 1881, ii 198 and ii 195; in the session of 1882, i 149, i 170, and ii 199; in the session of 1883, ii 201; in the session of 1884, i 142, i 181, and ii 202; in the session of 1886, i 170; in the session of 1894, i 222; in the session of 1895, ii 188

PARR, Captain Henry Hallam :

reference to book written by, i 209

PATEKILE, chief of the Imizizi clan :

assists Umhlangaso in his rebellion against Sigcawu, i 219; in 1894 submits to Sigcawu, and is fined two hundred head of cattle, i 222

PATERSON, John :

in July 1878 brings on a motion in the Cape house of assembly in favour of a conference concerning confederation, which is rejected, ii 186; on the 12th of May 1880 is shipwrecked in the Atlantic and is drowned

PATTERSON, Captain R. R. :

in June 1878 is sent by Sir Bartle Frere to explore the country between the Limpopo and the Zambesi, ii 178; visits Khama at Shoshong, ii 179; next visits Lobengula, chief of the Matabele, who gives him a friendly reception, ib; proceeds onward to the mission station Shiloh, where the expedition is joined by a son of the reverend Mr. Thomas, ii 182; when three days' journey from the Zambesi the whole party dies from drinking poisoned water, ib.

PATTLE, T. P. :

in September 1877 becomes resident magistrate of Butterworth, i 44

PEACE Preservation Act : see Disarmament**PEARSON, Henry William :**

on the 8th of May 1881 retires with the Sprigg ministry, ii 69

PEARSON, Lieutenant-Colonel :

on the 10th of January 1879 is in command of a column that invades Zululand, i 807; in April on account of ill health he is forced to retire, i 837

PETITION :

to her Majesty the queen from the Transvaal burghers, *ii* 87;
of Cape colonists to the legislature in favour of the restoration
of independence to the Transvaal, *ii* 111; of Cape colonists to
her Majesty the queen asking for the restoration of independ-
ence to the Transvaal, *ii* 97; to the right honourable Mr.
Gladstone from English residents in the Transvaal in favour
of the retention of British sovereignty, *ii* 101

PHILANDER, Dirk, captain of Mier :

in the northern border war assists the colonial forces, *ii* 86

PHYLOXERA :

causes great ravages in the vineyards of the Cape Colony, *i* 15;
discovery of a remedy for, *ib.*; measures taken to prevent the
spread of, *ii* 208

PILGRIM's Rest :

in 1878 alluvial goldfields are opened at, *i* 249

PINE, Sir Benjamin C. C. :

from the 22nd of July 1878 to the 1st of April 1875 is lieutenant
governor of Natal, *i* 224

VAN PITTIUS, Nicolaas Claudius Gey :

is leader of the Europeans who assist Moshete, *ii* 150

POFADDER, Klaas, captain of a Korana clan :

account of, *ii* 80; has been friendly to the Cape government and
supplied with ammunition, *ib.*; in 1879 becomes hostile, *ib.*

PONDOLAND :

on the 25th of September 1894 is annexed to the Cape Colony,
i 222. See Eastern and Western

PONDOMSIS, the :

in October 1880 rise in rebellion, *i* 158

PONDOS :

origin of the, *i* 174; condition of the tribe in the time of the
chief Umqikela, *i* 175

POPULATION, European, of South Africa in 1878, *i* 2

**PORT Durnford, a landing place near the mouth of the Umlalazi
river in Zululand :**

on the 29th of June 1879 is first made use of, *i* 887

PORT Elizabeth :

progress of railway construction inland from, *ii* 198; population
in 1891 of, *ii* 288

PORTER, Hon. William :

in 1876 is elected first chancellor of the university of the Cape
of Good Hope, *i* 4

PORT Grosvenor, on the coast of Pondoland :

ludicrous effort to open trade at, *i* 186

PORT Natal :

is converted into a safe and excellent harbour by the removal of the bar, *i* 26 and 247

PORT Nolloth :

in October 1874 becomes a magisterial district, *i* 11

PORT St. John's :

particulars concerning, *i* 175; on the 31st of August 1878 is proclaimed British territory and is occupied by a company of the twenty-fourth regiment, *i* 179; on the 15th of September 1884 is annexed to the Cape Colony, *i* 181; population at the time, *ib.*; statistics of the trade of the port, *i* 182

PORTUGAL :

in 1879 subsidises a submarine cable from Durban to Delagoa Bay and thence to Aden, *ii* 192

PORTUGUESE authorities at Delagoa Bay :

in 1878 act in a very friendly manner, *i* 291

POSTAGE on letters between England and South Africa :

in 1876 is reduced to sixpence the half ounce, *i* 7

POTCHEFSTROM :

on the 18th of December 1880 a small fort is surrendered to Commandant Pieter Cronjé, *ii* 117; the principle fort is tenaciously held by Lieutenant-Colonel Winsloe, *ii* 118; until the 21st of March, when his provisions are exhausted, and he is obliged to surrender, *ii* 127

POTTERILL, Mr., a volunteer :

in 1878 is killed by Langalibalele's followers at the Bushman's pass, *i* 280

PRETORIA :

from 1877 to 1879 more than doubles its population, *ii* 114; in August 1880 becomes a municipality, *ib.*; garrison of in 1880, *ii* 118

PRETORIUS, Marthinus Wessel :

in January 1878 complains to Sir Theophilus Shepstone of the Bantu being permitted to obtain arms and ammunition at the diamond fields, *i* 281; in January 1879 he is appointed chairman of a permanent committee to work for the independence of the Transvaal, *ii* 88; proceedings of the committee, *ii* 86; in December 1880 he is elected a member of a triumvirate to carry on the Transvaal government provisionally, *ii* 115

PRODUCTS of Natal :

show of, *ii* 212

PROTECTORATE of the whole coast of Pondoland:

on the 5th of January 1885 is proclaimed by the high commissioner, i 186

PUBLIC debt of South Africa in 1873:

amount of, i 2

PUBLIC debt of the Cape Colony in December 1880, ii 229;

and at the close of 1884, ii 284

PUBLIC debt of Natal in December 1880, ii 280;

and at the close of 1884, ii 286

PUBLIC offices in Bloemfontein: see Bloemfontein

PULLINGS, Lieutenant-Colonel, of the first battalion of the twenty-fourth regiment:

on the 22nd of January 1879 is killed at Isandhlwana, i 816

PULLINGS's rangers:

in January 1878 are enrolled for military service, i 84

QUIPU, chief of the Amanci:

in August 1886 loses sixty-eight men in a battle with the Xesibes, i 200; in November 1886 decides upon abandoning the Pondo cause, i 208

QUEENSTOWN:

- in May 1880 is connected by railway with East London, ii 198; population in 1891 of, ii 288

QUTHING:

in May 1877 is cut off from Kornet Spruit and formed into a separate district, ii 42; intantion of the Cape government with regard to the settlement of, ii 57 and ii 78

RAILROADS:

in existence in the Cape Colony in 1873, i 2; in 1873 and 1876 they become the property of the Cape government, i 6; gauge of, ib.; by acts of the Cape parliament in 1874 are to be greatly extended, i 12; on the 6th of January 1876 a line owned by a Company is completed from Port Nolloth to Ookiep, i 50; on the 19th of August 1878 the first sod of the line from East London inland is turned by Mr. J. C. Molteno, i 6; on the 1st of May 1877 the line from East London is opened to King-Williamstown, i 50; on the 15th of October 1883 it is opened to Sterkstroom, ii 194; on the 19th of March 1885 it is opened to Burghersdorp, ib.; on the 19th of August of the same year it is opened to Aliwal North, ib.; on the 12th of November 1877 the line from Capetown is opened to Malmesbury, i 50; further progress of, ii 192; on the 12th of November 1884 is opened to Hopetown, ii 194; on the 4th of November 1885 it is open from Capetown to Kimberley, ii 181; on the 1st of June

1881 the midland line from Port Elizabeth is opened to Cradock, ii 198; on the 16th of October 1883 is opened to Colmar, ii 194; in March 1884 the connecting line from De Aar to Nauwpoort is opened, ii 194; early in 1885 the line from Grahamstown to Port Alfred is completed, ii 198

RAILROADS:

in existence in Natal in 1873, i 2; on the 1st of January 1876 the first sod of the line from Durban to Maritzburg is turned by Sir Henry Bulwer, i 246; on the first of January 1877 the line from the Point to Durban is purchased by the government, ib.; the line to Maritzburg is constructed for the government by Messrs. Wythes & Jackson, of London, ib.; on the 9th of February 1878 it is opened for traffic from Durban to Pinetown, ib.; further progress of, ii 208 and ii 212

RAILROAD:

scheme of President Burgers for the construction of a line from the South African Republic to Delagoa Bay, i 253

RAMANELA, Basuto sub-chief:

chafes under the restraint of a magistrate, ii 54; in July 1880 rises in rebellion against the Cape government, ii 60

RARABE clans:

in 1877 give cause to believe that they intend to rebel, i 74

READ, Walter H.:

in October 1878 becomes magistrate of Mount Ayliff, i 168

REBELLION of 1880:

in Tembuland, i 147; in Griqualand East, i 155; by January 1881 is completely stamped out, i 162

REBELLION of the Rarabe clans in 1878:

cost of the suppression of, i 134

REDWATER:

in 1884 has caused great loss of cattle in Natal, ii 214

REGIMENTS of British soldiers that served in South Africa during the period embraced in these volumes: see British

REITZ, Advocate Francis William:

in March 1874 becomes chief justice of the Orange Free State, ii 221

REPORT of the disputed boundary commission:

particulars concerning, i 800

RESPONSIBLE government:

in 1874 a vote in favour of is carried in the legislative council of Natal, i 288

RETURN of cattle thefts by and from Pondos, i 208

REVENUE :

of the Cape Colony, *ii* 227; and of Natal, *ii* 230

RHODES, Cecil John :

in 1882 is a member of the Basutoland losses commission, *ii* 74; on the 20th of March 1884 becomes treasurer of the Cape Colony, *ii* 202; on the 18th of May of the same year retires from office, *ii* 203; in August 1884 is appointed deputy commissioner for Betschuanaland, *ii* 160; on the 25th of that month reaches Rooi-Grond, *ii* 161; but is unable to make any satisfactory arrangement with the Goshenites, *ib.*; on the 8th of September 1884 enters into an agreement with the people of Stellaland, *ii* 163; on the 16th of March 1885 resigns on account of disagreement with Sir Charles Warren, *ii* 170

RICHARDS, Commodore :

in March 1879 succeeds Rear-Admiral Sullivan as commander of the naval force on the South African station, *i* 382

ROBERTS, Sir Frederick :

in 1881 is appointed to the chief command of the troops in South Africa, but is recalled before assuming the duty, *ii* 128

ROBERTSON, Abraham Faure :

is the first civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Vryburg, *ii* 172

ROBINSON, Sir Hercules George Robert :

on the 22nd of January 1881 assumes duty as governor of the Cape Colony and high commissioner for South Africa, *ii* 192; in March of that year is appointed chairman of a royal commission to arrange the terms of a convention with the Transvaal, *ii* 128; on the 8th of August transfers the government of the Transvaal to Messrs. Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert, *ii* 180; on the 29th of April 1881 issues an award concerning the Basuto insurgents, *ii* 68; assists in London in making the arrangements for the transfer of Basutoland to imperial rule, *ii* 79; takes part in the arrangements that lead to the convention of London, *ii* 154; on the 30th of May 1895 reaches Capetown from London again, *ii* 183; on the 30th of May 1895 becomes governor of the Cape Colony for the second time, *ii* 183

RODE valley :

in December 1886 is purchased from the Pondos by the Cape government, *i* 214; in 1888 is annexed to the Cape Colony, *i* 170

ROLLAND, Emile S. :

in 1877 and 1878, during Colonel Griffith's absence, acts as governor's agent in Basutoland, *ii* 56

BOMILLY, Commander :

on the 27th of February 1881 is mortally wounded at Majuba,
ii 124

ROOS, Fieldcornet Stephanus :

on the 28th of February 1883 is killed in the Mapoch war,
ii 188

RORKE'S Drift, post at :

on the 22nd of January 1879 is gallantly defended against a
Zulu army, i 320

ROWLANDS, Lieutenant-Colonel Hugh :

in August 1878 is appointed to the chief command of the soldiers
and volunteers in the Transvaal, i 285; in October with a
strong force marches to Sekukuni's stronghold, but returns
'without effecting anything, ib.

RUSTENBURG :

during the Transvaal war of independence is held by a small
English garrison, ii 120

SAINT Helena :

in March 1879 all the troops on this island are sent to Natal,
i 382

SAINT LAWRENCE, transport ship :

on the 9th of November 1876 is wrecked on Paternoster Point,
i 56

SAINT Lucia Bay :

on the 18th of December 1884 is formally taken in possession for
Great Britain, ii 23

SAINT Mark's :

after the rebellion of 1880 is created a district in Tembuland,
i 150

SALISBURY, Earl :

on the 24th of June 1885 succeeds Mr. Gladstone as prime
minister of England, ii 24

SAMUEL Moroko :

makes war upon the chief Tsepinare at Thaba Ntshu, and kills
him, ii 226

SANDILE, principal Gaika chief :

in December 1877 goes into rebellion, i 82; is followed by his
two sons Edmund or Gonya and Matanzima, i 87; on the
7th of February 1878 is present at the battle of Kentani, i 98;
after the battle he retires to the fastnesses along the Thomas
river, i 95; is expelled from the Thomas river valley, and takes
refuge in the Amatola forests, i 120; on the 29th of May
1878 is mortally wounded in a skirmish at Isidengi hill, and a few

days later dies, i 181; on the 9th of June his body is decently buried by Commandant Schermbrucker, *ib.*

SAUER, Jacobus Wilhelmus :

on the 9th of May 1881 becomes secretary for native affairs in Mr. Scanlen's ministry, ii 70; makes a tour through Basutoland endeavouring to restore order, *ib.*; studies the interests of black and white people alike, ii 78; on the 18th of May 1884 retires from office, ii 208

SCANLEN, Thomas Charles (later Sir Thomas) :

on the 9th of May 1881 becomes prime minister of the Cape Colony, ii 70; puts on record his policy concerning the rebel Basuto, ii 72; on the 1st of July 1882 ceases to be attorney-general and becomes colonial secretary, ii 200; takes part in the arrangements that lead to the convention of London, ii 154; on the 18th of May 1884 retires from office, ii 208

SCHERMBRUCKER, Commandant Frederick :

in March 1878 conducts operations against the rebel Gaikas in the Amatola forests, i 120; on the 9th of June gives decent burial to the corpse of the chief Sandile, i 181; raises a corps of a hundred mixed English and German horsemen, and in February 1879 proceeds with it to the defence of Luneburg, i 828; during the Basuto insurrection is commandant of the "loyals," ii 62; on the 18th of May 1884 becomes commissioner of crown lands and public works in the Cape Colony, ii 208

VON SCHLICKMANN, Conrad :

in August 1876 is commissioned by President Burgers to carry on the war with Sekukuni, i 264; on the 17th of November is killed in action, i 265

SCHOOLS :

statistics of in Transkei, Tembuland, Griqualand East, and Pondoland, i 198

SCHWEIZER-RENEKE :

is the modern name of Mannesa, ii 176

SCHRÖDER, Rev. Christian :

carries out a scheme of irrigation on the northern bank of the Orange river, and transforms a desert into a garden, ii 88

SCHUINS Hoogte :

account of the engagement on the 8th of February 1881 at, ii 122

SCOTT, Rev. John H. :

in August 1876 becomes magistrate of Mqanduli, i 48; in July 1879 is appointed special magistrate of the northern border, ii 86

SEBELE, chief of the Bakwena :

reference to, *ii* 176

SEKAKI, Basuto chief :

lenient treatment of, *ii* 54

SEKUKUNI :

in September 1861 succeeds his father Sekwati as chief of the Bapedi tribe, *i* 258; early in 1876 rebels against the South African Republic, *i* 259; the farmers of Lydenburg go into lager at Kruger's Post, *ib.*; where on the 24th of June they beat off an attack by the rebels, but lose their cattle, *i* 261; in February 1877 the chief professes to submit, and agrees to pay a fine, *i* 266; but does not keep his engagement, so the British authorities in the Transvaal call him to account, *i* 281; in February 1878 he attacks some clans obedient to the government and despoils them, *ib.*; he rejects terms of peace offered to him by Sir Garnet Wolseley, *ii* 102; he is then attacked by a very strong force, and on the 28th of November 1879 his stronghold is taken with very heavy loss of life to his clan, *ii* 106; on the 2nd of December he is obliged to surrender to Commandant Ferreira, and is sent a prisoner to Pretoria, *ii* 104; all his vassals then submit and a settlement of the territory is effected, *ib.*; he is liberated when the convention of Pretoria is signed, *ii* 184; on the 18th of August 1882 he is murdered by his half-brother Mampuru, *ii* 185; cost of Sir Garnet Wolseley's operations against, *ii* 186

SEKWATI, founder of the Bapedi tribe :

account of, *i* 257; in September 1861 dies, *i* 258

SENDALL, Mr. :

on the 17th of February 1881 is appointed lieutenant-governor of Natal, but never assumes the office, *ii* 210

SENEKAL, Commandant, of Rustenburg :

on the 24th of November 1882 is killed in action with the tribe of Mapoch, *ii* 187

SERGEAUNT, J. G. :

in 1878 accompanies the exploring expedition under Captain Patterson, *ii* 178; when three days' journey from the Zambesi dies from drinking poisoned water, *ii* 180

SERGEAUNT, W. C., a qualified accountant :

in 1877 arranges the treasury books of the Transvaal, *i* 280

SETI, William :

mention of, *i* 28

SETSEHILI, chief of the Bakwena :

in 1898 dies, *ii* 176

SEVEN CIRCLES ACT :

in 1874 is passed by the Cape parliament, i 11

SHAH, her Majesty's ship :

is at Saint Helena on her way to England from the Pacific when intelligence of the disaster at Isandhlwana reaches that island, upon which she proceeds to Natal and lands a strong naval brigade, i 382

SHAW, Matthew B. :

in June 1876 becomes magistrate of Qumbu, i 41; on the 1st of October 1878 is transferred to Kentani, i 188

SHEPSTONE, Henrique C. :

in 1877 becomes secretary for native affairs in the Transvaal, i 280

SHEPSTONE, John Wesley, acting secretary for native affairs in Natal :

on the 26th of February 1878 is appointed a member of the disputed boundary commission, i 294; on the 22nd of December 1882 is appointed commissioner to reside in the Zulu reserve, ii 12; at the end of March 1888 he is succeeded by Mr. Melmoth Osborn, *ib.*; on the 22nd of December he becomes judge of the Native High Court in Natal, *ib.*

SHEPSTONE, Sir Theophilus :

on the 5th of October 1876 is sent by Lord Carnarvon as a special commissioner to the South African Republic, i 266; on the 22nd of January 1877 reaches Pretoria, i 269; sends to England despatches of a misleading nature, i 278; on the 12th of April 1877 issues a proclamation annexing the Transvaal to the British dominions, and assumes duty as administrator, i 278; entirely changes his views regarding Ketahwayo's claim to land, i 289; on the 11th of March 1878 issues a proclamation threatening punishment of those taking part in public meetings opposed to the government, but it has no effect, i 287; in March 1879 ceases to be administrator of the Transvaal, ii 84; in June 1880 retires from public service with a pension, *ib.*

SHIPPARD, Judge Sidney G. A. :

on the 28rd of October 1885 assumes duty as administrator of British Bechuanaland, ii 172

SHIPWRECKS in Table Bay :

in 1878 five take place, ii 196

SHOSHONG :

description of, ii 181

SIBBEU, one of Sir Garnet Wolseley's sovereign chiefs :

is allowed to keep his district when Ketahwayo is sent back to

Zululand, ii 6; on the 30th of March 1883 is attacked by Ketshwayo's army led by Mnyamana, but defeats it utterly, ii 18; on the 21st of July 1883 attacks Ketshwayo, burns his kraals, and completely ruins him, ii 14; then makes himself master of all northern Zululand, ii 16; on the 16th of March 1884 is defeated by Mnyamana in a battle, ii 8; on the 5th of June 1884 is attacked by a combined Zulu and European army, and is completely subdued, ii 20; he makes his escape and flees for protection to Mr. Osborn in the reserve, ii 21

SIGCAWU, inferior son of Umqikela:

on the 15th of February 1883 is chosen by the Pondos as his father's successor, i 215; is weak and incompetent, i 216; on the 17th of March 1894 becomes a British subject, i 221

SIGCAWU, great son of the Xosa chief Krali:

particulars concerning, i 64

SILK culture:

attempts are made to carry out this industry in the Cape Colony, but are unsuccessful, i 9

SIRAYO, Zulu sub-chief:

in January 1879 loses some cattle and has his kraal destroyed by a detachment from Colonel Glynn's column, i 311; on the 21st of July 1883 is killed when assisting Ketshwayo to escape from Sibebu, ii 14

SISSISSON, Captain Joseph:

in May 1878 is sent to the northern border with a hundred mounted men to restore order, ii 32; on the 12th of July inflicts severe punishment upon Klaas Lukas, ii 33; is afterwards stationed at Kenhart to patrol the country around, ib.

SITIMELA:

attempts to drive one of Sir Garnet Wolseley's chiefs from Zululand, ii 2; but is defeated by John Dunn and is obliged to take refuge in the Transvaal, ib.

SIWANI, great son of the Barabe chief Dushane:

during the rebellion of 1878 assists the Cape government, i 127

SIYOLO, right-hand son of Dushane:

in March 1878 goes into rebellion against the Cape Colony, i 126; after losing many men in an engagement, takes shelter in the Amatola forest, ib.; on the 1st of June is killed in a skirmish, i 132

SMALL-POX:

in 1882 and 1883 causes great loss of life in the Cape Colony, ii 200

SMIT, Commandant Nicolaas :

leads the Transvaal burghers in the engagement at Schuins Hoogte, *ii* 122; on the 27th of February 1881 leads the party that wrests Majuba hill from the troops under Sir George Colley, *ii* 128; early in 1884 visits England as a member of a deputation from the Transvaal, and concludes with the earl of Derby the convention of London, *ii* 158

SMITH, the honourable Charles Abercrombie (later Sir Charles) :

when commissioner for crown lands and public works is appointed auditor-general of the Cape Colony, *i* 9; opinion of parliament concerning the appointment, *ib.*

SMITH, Dr. James Walter :

in 1878 attempts, but without success, to interfere in the Zulu difficulty, *i* 298

SMITH, Matthew :

account of the controversy caused by, *i* 251

SMITH, Pommer :

account of the rebellion of, *i* 87; he is killed in action, *i* 40

SMYTH, Lieutenant-General Sir Leicester :

acts as administrator of the government of the Cape Colony during Sir Hercules Robinson's absence in Natal and the Transvaal in 1881, *ii* 128; and again during Sir Hercules Robinson's absence in England to assist in arranging the convention of London, *ii* 154

SNYMAN, Commandant J. P. :

on the 24th of October 1882 arranges terms of peace between Moshete and Montsiwa, *ii* 151

SOGA, reverend Tiyo :

mention of, *i* 28

SOLOMON, Saul :

action in the Cape parliament of, *i* 21; supports the Scanlen ministry, *ii* 78; as proprietor of the *Cape Argus* defends himself in an action for libel brought against him by Attorney-General Upington, *ii* 88; in 1882 on account of ill health is obliged to retire from public life, *ii* 201; he removes to England, and on the 16th of October 1892 dies there, *ii* 202

SOUTHEY'S pass :

in October 1878 is opened for traffic, *i* 8

SOUTHEYVILLE, part of Emigrant Tembuland :

in 1878 is made a magisterial district, *i* 148; in the rebellion of 1880 the public buildings are destroyed, *i* 148; it is then reduced in size, and is called the district of Saint Mark's, *i* 150

SPRIGG, John Gordon (later Sir Gordon) :

in 1876 is chairman of the frontier defence commission, i 29;
on the 6th of February 1878 becomes prime minister of the
Cape Colony, i 105; on the 25th of October 1879 has an
interview with the rebel chief Morosi on his mountain, ii 52;
attends the pitso in Basutoland in October 1879, and announces
an increase of the hut-tax and the compulsory surrender of
guns, ii 57; in June 1880 is unable to carry his confederation
proposals in the house of assembly, but in other matters still
commands a majority, ii 190; on the 9th of May 1881 is
obliged to retire from office, ii 69; on the 18th of May 1884
becomes treasurer of the colony, ii 204

SPRIGG, Major Howard :

in 1894 becomes magistrate of Bizana, i 222

SPRINGER, Lieutenant, of the Cape mounted rifles :

on the 20th of November 1879 is the first man to reach the
top of Morosi's mountain, ii 58

STANDARD bank building in Capetown :

on the 17th of March 1888 is opened for use, ii 205

STANDBERTON :

during the Transvaal war of independence is held by a small
British garrison, ii 120

STANFORD, A. H. :

on the 21st of March 1894 becomes magistrate of Libode, i 222

STANFORD, R. W. :

in May 1881 becomes magistrate of St. Mark's, i 150

STANFORD, Walter E. :

in April 1876 becomes magistrate of Engcobo, i 48

STANLEY, Colonel Frederick A. :

on the 24th of June 1885 becomes secretary of state for the
colonies, ii 24

STELLALAND, republic of :

in July 1882 is founded, ii 148

STELLENBOSCH :

on the 14th of January 1875 a disastrous fire takes place in the
town of, i 24; population in 1891 of, ii 288

STERKSTROOM :

on the 15th of October 1888 the railway from East London is
opened to, ii 194

STOCKENSTROM, Attorney-General :

opinion in regard to the question in dispute between Sir Bartle
Frere and Mr. Molteno given by, i 108

- STOKWÉ**, son of Ndlela, emigrant Tambu chief :
in September 1878 becomes a British subject, i 148; in October 1880 rises in rebellion against the Cape government, i 148; but is thoroughly subdued and loses everything, i 149
- STOKWÉ**, son of Tshali, chief of the Amavundle clan :
in the war of 1877-8 aids the Galekas, i 62; on the 28rd of March 1878 meets with a crushing defeat, i 125; in April 1878 is captured, i 128
- STRACHAN**, Donald, magistrate of Umzimkulu :
takes an active part in the suppression of the Griqua rebellion, i 89
- STRAHAN**, Sir George Cumine :
from the 27th of September 1888 to the 22nd of January 1891 acts as governor of the Cape Colony, ii 192
- STREATHFIELD**, F. N. :
on the 2nd of January 1879 becomes magistrate of Willowvale, i 189
- STUTTERHEIM** :
in November 1877 is created a magisterial district of the Cape Colony, i 51
- SUPREME court of the Orange Free State** :
in January 1876 is established, ii 228
- SURMON**, Captain James, of the Cape mounted rifles :
on the 8th of April 1879 is killed at Morosi's mountain, ii 48
- SURMON**, James E. :
is the first resident magistrate of Mafeking, ii 172
- SURMON**, William Henry :
gallantly defends the magistracy of Mohali's Hoek, ii 62
- SWAZIS**, the :
assist the British forces to conquer the Bapedi, ii 102
- SWELLENDAM** :
population in 1891 of, ii 238
- TABANKULU**, in Eastern Pondoland :
in 1894 is created a magisterial district, i 222
- TAINTON**, Messrs. (two brothers) and W. C. Brown :
on the 31st of December 1877 are murdered by rebel Xosas, i 84
- TARKA** :
in September, 1874 becomes a magisterial district of the Cape Colony, i 11
- TATI** gold mines :
in 1885 are not in a prosperous state, ii 181
- TELEGRAPHS** in the Cape Colony :
in 1878 become the property of the government, i 6; on the

19th of April 1878 telegraphic communication is opened between Capetown and Durban, i 225; extension of in the Cape Colony, ii 195; on the 16th of February 1885 telegraphic communication is opened between Capetown and Vryburg, ii 169; further particulars concerning, ii 195

TELEGRAPHS in Natal :

in 1878 the line between Durban and Maritzburg is purchased by the government, i 225; in December 1879 telegraphic communication with England is opened by means of a cable from Durban to Aden, ii 192

TEMBULAND, chief magistracy of :

in September 1878 is formed of the districts of Mqanduli, Umtata, Emjanyana, Engcobo, Southeyville, and Xalanga, that is the united territory of Tembuland Proper and Emigrant Tembuland, i 144; in December 1878 the district of Elliotdale or Bomvanaland is added to it, i 147; in May 1881 the name Southeyville is changed to Saint Mark's, i 150; on the 26th of August 1885 the seven districts are annexed to the Cape Colony, i 151; population at that time, i 152

TEMBU tribe proper :

in December 1875 become British subjects, i 46

TEUTON, Union Company's steamer :

heavy loss of life by the sinking of, ii 197

THABA Ntshu, Barolong territory :

in July 1884 is proclaimed part of the Orange Free State, ii 226

THESIGER, Lieutenant-General F. A. (later Lord Chelmsford) :

on the 25th of February 1878 succeeds Sir Arthur Cunynghame as commander of the British forces in South Africa, i 119; conducts operations against the rebels in the Amatola forests, i 121; and against the Zulus, i 306; after the final defeat of Ketshwayo at Ulundi he returns to Europe, i 346

THOMAS, Mr., son of the missionary at Shiloh in Matabeleland :

accompanies Captain Patterson's expedition and dies from drinking poisoned water, ii 182

THOMSON, J. R. :

in November 1875 becomes magistrate of Maclear, i 40

TINI, son of the Gaika chief Makoma :

purchases ground in the Waterkloof, i 27; collects a large number of people there, but in March 1878 is easily ejected by Colonel Palmer with the 90th regiment and some volunteers, when he retires to the Amatola forests, i 119; on the 28th of May he is captured, i 180

TONGALAND :

on the 30th of May 1895 becomes a British protectorate, *ii* 28;
on the 30th of December 1897 is annexed to Natal, *ib.*

TOWN Hall of Durban :

particulars concerning, *ii* 215

TOYISE, Karabe chief :

on the 30th of March 1878 dies, *i* 127

TRADITIONS, Bantu :

unreliability of, *i* 178

TRANSKEI, chief magistracy of :

in September 1879 is formed of the districts of Tsomo, Nqamakwe, Butterworth, Idutywa, Kentani, and Willowvale, *i* 189; on the 1st of October 1879 the four districts of Idutywa, Tsomo, Nqamakwe, and Butterworth are annexed to the Cape Colony, *i* 48; and on the 26th of August 1885 the other two, *i* 142; population in 1885, *ib.*; revenue and expenditure at that time, *ib.*

TRANSVAAL :

financial position in 1877, *i* 279; immigration of English people into in 1877-80, *ii* 81; English opinion regarding the treatment of coloured people *ib.*; reason for not allowing Bantu to hold land under individual tenure in, *ii* 82; view of Sir Michael Hicks Beach concerning, *ii* 94; on the 12th of April 1877 is annexed to the British dominions, *i* 278; on the 8th of November 1879 executive and legislative (nominated) councils are created, *ii* 100; on the 8th of August 1881 the republican government, under many restrictions, is restored, *ii* 180; and on the 27th of February 1884 by the convention of London it again becomes an independent state, *ii* 155

TRANSVAAL farmers: see Mass meeting

TROOPS in South Africa in June 1879 :

number of, *i* 841

TSEPINARE, chief of the Barolong at Thaba Ntshu :

is opposed by Samuel Moroko, and is at length killed by him, *ii* 226

TSETSE fly :

disappears where large game is destroyed, *ii* 141

TSHINGWAYO, commander of the Zulu army at Isandhlwana :

is killed on the 21st of July 1888 when Ketsahwayo is defeated by Sibebe, *ii* 14

TSOLO :

account of the destruction of the residency and the defence of the prison in the rebellion of 1880, *i* 159

TUDHOPE, John :

on the 4th of March 1885 becomes colonial secretary, *ii* 204

TULARE, Bantu chief :

mention of, *i* 256

TULBAGH road :

on the 31st of August 1875 the railway from Capetown is opened to, *i* 18

TYALA, Gaika counsellor :

conduct of in 1877, *i* 82; pathetic death of, *i* 187

UITENHAGE :

on the 21st of September 1875 the railway from Port Elizabeth is opened to, *i* 18; population in 1891 of, *ii* 288

UKWELAPA, custom of :

explanation of, *i* 208.

ULUNDI :

on the 4th of July 1879 the Zulu power is overthrown in the decisive battle of, *i* 844; description of the military kraal at, *i* 845; which is entirely destroyed by Lord Chelmsford, *ib.*

UMBELINI, son of Umswazi :

on the death of his father tries to supplant his half-brother Umbandeni, but is defeated and is obliged to place himself under the protection of Ketswayo, *i* 267; he becomes a marauder of the worst kind, *i* 268; conduct of, *i* 281, 292, 298, 296, and 828; his surrender for trial is demanded by Sir Bartle Frere from Ketswayo, *i* 804; but is not complied with, *i* 806; on the 12th of March 1879 commands the Zulus in an attack upon a company of the 80th regiment at the Intombi river, when sixty-three Europeans lose their lives, *i* 829; on the 5th of April is shot dead, *i* 831; reference to, *i* 824

UMCITYU corps of the Zulu army :

prefer death to disgrace, *i* 841

UMDITSHA, chief of a Pondomsi clan :

in October 1878 becomes a British subject, *i* 82; in October 1880 rises in rebellion, *i* 159; in January 1881 surrenders and is sentenced to imprisonment for three years, *i* 162

UMFANTA, Tembu chief :

in January 1878 joins the enemies of the Cape Colony, *i* 90; in April is captured, *i* 128

UMHLANGASO, half-brother of the Pondo chief Umqikela :

is a promoter of enmity to the Cape government, *i* 182; conduct of, *i* 195, 200, 212, and 217; rebels against the chief Sigcawu and causes much trouble, *i* 218; in 1884 is obliged to submit

to the Cape government, and is located on a farm in Griqualand East, *i* 222

UMHLONHLO, chief of a Pondomai clan:

in October 1872 becomes a British subject, *i* 82; in October 1880 murders his magistrate and goes into rebellion, *i* 158; escapes to Basutoland, but in 1908 is captured, is tried for murder, and is acquitted by a jury, *i* 162

UMNINI, chief of the remnant of a tribe living at the Bluff in Natal in Lieutenant Farewell's time:

in March 1888 dies, *ii* 216

UMQIKELA:

on the 29th of October 1867 succeeds his father Faku as chief of the Pondos, *i* 176; acts in a hostile manner towards the Cape Colony with regard to traffic on the main road, *i* 182; and generally in many other respects, *i* 188; claims the allegiance of the Xesibes, *i* 167; in October 1887 dies, *i* 215

UMSIKABA, in Eastern Pondoland:

in 1894 is created a magisterial district, *i* 222

UMSILA:

meaning of the word, 176

UMTATA, in Tembuland:

in 1876 is created a magisterial district, *i* 47

UMTATA, town of:

in January 1876 is founded, *i* 151; by 1885 has become a place of importance, *ib.*

UMXOLI, petty Galeka chief:

on the 8rd of August 1877 is badly bruised at a Fingo wedding feast, which brings on the ninth Kaffir war, *i* 54

UMZIMKULU, district of:

in October 1874 is annexed to the British dominions, *i* 85

UMZINTSANI:

account of the battle on the 2nd of December 1877 at, *i* 77

UNIVERSITY of the Cape of Good Hope:

in 1878 is created, *i* 8

UPCHER, Captain, of the first battalion of the 24th regiment:

on the 7th of February 1878 commands the European forces in the decisive battle of Kentani, *i* 94

UPINGTON, Thomas (later Sir Thomas):

in February 1878 becomes attorney-general of the Cape Colony, *i* 106; in April 1879 proceeds to the northern border, and directs operations there, *ii* 84; brings an action for libel against Messrs. Solomon and Dormer for articles in the *Cape Argus*, *ii* 88; on the 18th of May 1884 becomes prime

minister of the Cape Colony, *ii* 204; with Mr. Sprigg and Mr. J. S. Marais in November 1884 visits Betschuanaland and concludes an arrangement with the Goshenites, which the high commissioner does not approve of, *ii* 165

UTS, J. J. :

gives some advice to Lord Chelmsford, which is unheeded, *i* 811

UTS, Commandant Pieter Lavras :

aids the British forces against the Zulus, *i* 824; on the 1st of February 1879 assists in the destruction of the Qulusi military kraal, *i* 827; on the 28th of March 1879 is killed at Ndhlobane mountain, *i* 830; Colonel Evelyn Wood's estimate of the character and services of, *i* 825

VANDERKEMP, Jacobus, son of the reverend Dr. Vanderkemp :

on the 15th of January 1878 is murdered by rebel Xosas, *i* 88

VERULAM :

in September 1879 is connected by railway with Durban, *ii* 208

DE VILLIERS, John Henry (later Sir Henry, later still Lord de Villiers) :

in December 1878 becomes chief justice of the Cape Colony, *i* 9;

in March 1881 is appointed a member of a royal commission to arrange the terms of a convention with the Transvaal, *ii* 128

DE VILLIERS, Advocate Melius :

in January 1878 becomes a puisne judge in the Orange Free State, *ii* 228

DE VILLIERS, Tielman Nieuwoudt :

in 1885 surveys and beacons off the western boundary of the South African Republic, *ii* 168

VEYBURG, town of :

in July 1882 is founded, *ii* 148; the residents in the town petition the Cape parliament to be annexed to the Cape Colony, *ii* 158

VEYHEID, town of :

in August 1884 is founded as the seat of government of the New Republic, *ii* 22

WAR, the ninth Kaffir :

on the 8rd of August 1877 there is a quarrel at a Fingo wedding feast, when a Galeka is killed and some others are badly bruised, *i* 58; three days later four bands of Galekas invade Fingoland and avenge their friends by driving off the cattle belonging to several kraals, *i* 54; attempts by the British officials in the country to restore order fail, and a demand is then made upon Kreli to pay the full number of captured cattle, *i* 55; at the same time one hundred and fifty mounted

policemen are sent to guard the Fingo border, *ib.*; on the 24th of August a band of Galekas invades Fingoland, and on the next day a battle with the Fingos takes place, *i* 56; the first battalion of the 24th regiment is stationed at different posts west of the Kei to prevent an invasion of the colony, *i* 57; Sir Bartle Frere proceeds to Butterworth, and on the 15th of September invites Krelî to meet him and discuss matters, but the chief declines to do so, *i* 58; on the 23rd of September all attempts to restore peace are abandoned, the missionaries and the traders leave Galekaland, and it is recognized that a state of war exists, *i* 59; Mapasa now abandons the Galeka cause, and with a portion of his clan retires to the Cape Colony and obtains protection, *i* 60; on the 26th of September the police and Fingos are defeated in an engagement at Gwadana, *ib.*; but three days later the Galekas are beaten with great loss at Ibeka, *i* 61; strong bodies of police, volunteers, and Tembus now arrive at Ibeka, to strengthen the force under Commandant Griffith, *i* 62; on the 5th of October Sir Bartle Frere issues a proclamation deposing Krelî from his chieftainship, *i* 63; on the 9th of October several important kraals are destroyed, *i* 64; on the 18th of October operations are commenced for scouring the Galeka country, *i* 65; on the 21st the enemy is defeated with heavy loss in the battle of Lusizi, *i* 66; the Galekas then retire to the eastward, *i* 70; and are pursued to Western Pondoland by the force under Colonel Griffith, *i* 71; in the belief that they are entirely broken and dispersed, the colonial volunteers then return and are disbanded, *i* 72; on the 2nd of December it becomes known that instead of being defeated the Galekas have merely placed their families in safety and are returning to renew the war, *i* 77; on that day a patrol under Inspector Bourne has a sharp skirmish with the enemy at Umzintsani, followed that evening by a stiffly contested battle, *ib.*; on the 9th of December Colonel Griffith is superseded by Colonel Glynn as commander of the forces east of the Kei, and operations are carried on largely with imperial troops, *i* 80; negotiations for peace are made by Krelî, but end in nothing, *i* 81; on the 24th of December Kiva crosses the Kei to the Gaika location, and appeals to the Rarabe clans to aid Krelî in his time of need, *ib.*; which appeal is responded to by the great majority of them, *i* 82; all the troops in Capetown are now removed to the frontier, and a naval brigade is supplied from her Majesty's ship *Active*, *i* 78; the enemy meets at first with some success, *i* 83; and makes two raids

into Fingoland, i 85; on the 18th of January 1878 the Galekas lose heavily in an engagement near Kentani hill, *ib.*; the area of disturbance is constantly enlarging, i 86; in January 1878 some Tembu clans join the enemies of the colony, i 88; but volunteers and burghers are coming forward in sufficient numbers to compensate for these new foes, *ib.*; in January 1878 Commandant Frost successfully sweeps the Gaika location, i 89; at the same time Lieutenant-Colonel Lambert clears the Tahitahaba valley of cattle, *ib.*; an unsuccessful expedition is then undertaken against Gongubela, i 90; but on the 4th of February that chief meets with a severe defeat, i 91; on the 7th of February the Galekas are defeated at Kentani, i 92; the battle proves a decisive one, for after his defeat Kreli gives up the contest and flees into Bomvanaland, i 95

WAR with the Zulus:

on the 11th of December 1878 the demands of the high commissioner upon Ketshwayo are delivered to his delegates at the lower Tugela drift, i 808; these include not only reparation for misdeeds, but the disbandment of the Zulu army and the abolition of the Zulu military system, i 804; as Ketshwayo takes no notice of these demands, on the 4th of January 1879 Sir Bartle Frere entrusts their enforcement to the military authorities, i 806; on the 10th of January 1879 the first column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Pearson, begins to cross the lower Tugela into Zululand, i 807; it advances northward, and on the 21st burns the military kraal at Ginginhlovu, i 808; on the 22nd it defeats a Zulu army at Inyezane, *ib.*; and on the 23rd it reaches and occupies the Norwegian mission station Etshowe, i 809; where a little later a quantity of provisions reaches it, *ib.*; on account of the terrible disaster at Isandhlwana it can go no farther, so Etshowe is fortified, and after all the surplus troops are sent back to Natal, the others remain there to hold the place, i 810; on the 11th of January another column, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Glynn, with whom are Lord Chelmsford and his staff, crosses the Buffalo, *ib.*; and on the 20th halts at the foot of Isandhlwana hill, without taking any precautionary measures for protecting itself in case of attack, i 811; a detached party from this column had burnt the kraal of the chief Sirayo and had captured some of his cattle, *ib.*; the best regiments in the Zulu army are sent by Ketshwayo against this column, i 812; they march to Isandhlwana, and conceal themselves close to the British camp, *ib.*; on the 21st part of the British forces are sent on ahead, i 818

in the early morning of the 22nd Lord Chelmsford himself with another detachment leaves, and is drawn far away by a Zulu band pretending to retire before it, *ib.*; the camp is left without any protective work, and a message is sent to Colonel Durnford near Rorke's drift to march at once and take command of the force left there, *ib.*; in the morning of the 22nd of January 1879 the camp is assailed by an overpowering force, and though a desperate resistance is made and thousands of Zulus fall, the fight ends with the death of every white man who is not mounted and therefore cannot escape, *ib.*; a few horsemen manage to get away from the field of slaughter, *ib.*; but over eight hundred Europeans perish, *ib.*; at four o'clock in the afternoon Lord Chelmsford learns what has taken place, and at once the whole of the men in advance set out to return, *ib.*; they reach Isandhlwana after dark, and remain there that night, *ib.*; before daylight next morning they resume the march, and reach Natal safely, *ib.* 819; at Rorke's drift they find the little post still in existence, it having been successfully held during the night against a strong Zulu army, *ib.* 821; most of the Bantu auxiliaries now return to their homes, *ib.*; until reinforcements can arrive from England operations from the side of Natal cease, *ib.* 824; on the 6th of January a column under Lieutenant-Colonel Evelyn Wood marches from Utrecht and crosses the Blood river to Bemba's Kop, *ib.* 826; on the 24th of January it beats off a Zulu attack, and then moves on to Kambula hill, where it forms an entrenched camp, *ib.* 827; on the 1st of February the Qulusi military kraal is destroyed by a party of cavalry from this camp, *ib.*; the column is strengthened by volunteer cavalry being added to it, *ib.* 828; on the 8rd of February Hamu, Ketsawayo's brother, joins the British forces, *ib.*; on the 12th of March a company of the eightieth regiment is surprised at the Intombi river, when Captain Moriarty and sixty-two men lose their lives, *ib.* 829; on the 26th of the same month a still greater disaster takes place at the Ndhlobane mountain, when ninety-five Europeans are killed, *ib.* 830; on the following day the camp at Kambula is attacked by a great Zulu army, which is beaten off with heavy loss, *ib.*; on the 5th of April the ferocious marauder Umbelini is killed, *ib.* 831; before this time all the soldiers in the Cape Colony, St. Helena, and Mauritius have arrived in Natal, and a strong naval brigade has been landed from her Majesty's ship *Shah*, *ib.* 832; in March and April very strong reinforcements of infantry, cavalry, and artillery arrive, *ib.*; on the 29th of March

a strong column, in two divisions, commanded by Lord Chelmsford in person, sets out from the lower Tugela for the relief of Etshowe, i 884; on the morning of the 2nd of April it is attacked at Ginginhlovu by a powerful Zulu army, which it beats off with very heavy loss, i 885; on the following day the troops who have held Etshowe for over two months are relieved, and the place is then abandoned, *ib.*; an entrenched post, named Fort Chelmsford, is formed near the Inyezane river, to serve as a depôt of supplies, i 886; in April arrangements are made by Lord Chelmsford for resuming the offensive, i 887; a very strong division of the forces is placed under command of Major-General Crealock, to move along the coast towards Ulundi, which on the 17th of June leaves the lower Tugela, i 888; another division is under Major-General Newdigate, and on the 28th of May marches from Kopje Alleen towards Ulundi, *ib.*; on the 28th of June Brigadier-General Wood's column, which has marched from Kambula, effects a junction with this division, when Lord Chelmsford takes direct command of the united force, i 840; he learns that Sir Garnet Wolseley is on the way to supersede him, so makes all possible haste, and on the 4th of July reaches Ulundi, i 844; there a decisive battle is fought, which ends in the utter defeat of the Zulus, and the war is over, *ib.*; it costs Great Britain £5,188,000

WAR of independence of the Transvaal:

during this war some fifty burghers lose their lives, *ii* 188

WALKER, Nathan:

on the 31st of July 1884 loses his life in action at Mafeking, *ii* 161

WARD, Lieutenant of the diamond field horse:

on the 21st of March 1878 is killed in the Amatola forest, i 122

WARNER, H. B.:

in 1894 becomes magistrate of Tabankulu, i 222

WARREN, Lieutenant-Colonel, of the royal engineers:

in March 1878 with seventy-five men of the diamond field horse defeats the rebel Rarabes under Siyolo, i 126; unsuccessfully endeavours to settle disputes between contending clans in Betshuanaland, *ii* 148; (Major-General Sir Charles) in November 1884 with a force five thousand strong is sent from England to expel the Goshenites from Betshuanaland, *ii* 167; on the 10th of March 1895 reaches Mafeking, and finds the Goshenites have fled, *ii* 169; disagrees with Mr. Rhodes, *ii* 170; and with the high commissioner, *ib.*; sends some officers to visit the Matabele chief Lobengula, *ii* 181; treats Mr. Van Niekerk very harshly, *ii* 170; in July 1885 is recalled to England, *ii* 171

WEATHERLEY, Colonel :

raises a corps of mounted volunteers, termed Weatherley's horse,
and in February 1879 is attached to Colonel Wood's column,
i 328; on the 28th of March is killed at Ndhlobane mountain,
i 380

WELBORNE's railway scheme in Natal :

particulars concerning, i 244

WELLINGTON :

on the 1st of October 1875 a disastrous fire takes place in this
village, i 24

WELSH, A. R. :

in September 1877 becomes magistrate of Tsolo, i 41

WESTERN Pondoland :

when annexed to the British empire is divided into two districts
named Libode and Ngceleni, i 222; population in 1894, *ib.*

DE WET, Jacobus Albertus (later Sir Jacobus) :

on the 18th of May 1884 becomes secretary for native affairs in
the Cape Colony, i 184

DE WET, Sir Jacobus Petrus :

in 1880 becomes chief justice of the Transvaal, ii 114

WHEELWRIGHT, William Douglas :

on the 8th of September 1879 is appointed British resident in
Zululand, i 352; after a very short experience resigns the office,
and in January 1880 is succeeded by Mr. Melmoth Osborn,
ii 118

WHINDUS, Captain E. J. :

in September 1884 is appointed resident magistrate and port
captain of Port St. John's, i 182

WHITE Brothers, traders :

in July 1881 land goods at Port St. John's without paying
customs duties, i 181

WILGEFONTEIN, in Natal :

settlement of Europeans at, ii 209

WILLIAM Nots, Hlubi headman living in the Rode :

dealings of the Eastern Pondos with, i 194

WILLOWMORE :

in September 1874 becomes a magisterial district of the Cape
Colony, i 11

WILLOWVALE, in the Transkei :-

in 1878 is created a magisterial district, i 187; mode of settle-
ment of, i 188; on the 26th of August 1885 is annexed to
the Cape Colony, i 142

WILMOT, Hon. A. (later Count):

reference to book written by, i 299

WINDSOR CASTLE, the:

in 1873 makes the passage from England in twenty-three days, then the shortest on record, i 7; on the 19th of October 1876 she is wrecked on Dassen Island, i 268

WOLSELEY, Sir Garnet:

from the 1st of April to the 8rd of September 1875 is administrator of Natal, i 224; is appointed governor of Natal and the Transvaal, high commissioner for South-Eastern Africa, and commander in chief of the military forces, i 842; on the 28th of June 1879 reaches Maritzburg and assumes the duty, i 843; he proceeds to Port Durnford in the *SHAH*, but cannot land, so returns to Durban, and goes overland to Major-General Crealock's camp, where he learns that the war is over, *ib.*; on the 29th of September 1879 he is sworn in as governor of the Transvaal, ii 99; stations garrisons in various towns and villages, *ib.*; offers peace to Sekukuni on certain terms, which that chief rejects, ii 102; in November 1879 completely subdues the Bapedi tribe, ii 108; causes Messrs. Pretorius and Bok to be imprisoned for a very short time, ii 109; then offers Mr. Pretorius a seat in the executive council, which is declined, *ib.*; his so-called settlement of Zululand is a failure, ii 1; on the 27th of April 1880 he retires, ii 118

Wood, Lieutenant-Colonel (later Sir Evelyn):

in March 1878 assists in operations against the rebels in the Amatola forests, i 121; in 1879 is in command of a column that operates from the Transvaal side against the Zulus, i 824; on the 24th of January he is attacked at Bemba's Kop by a Zulu army, which is repulsed, i 827; he then moves on to Kambula, where he forms an entrenched camp, *ib.*; (Brigadier-General) with his column moves from Kambula towards Ulundi, keeping in close touch with General Newdigate's division, with which, on the 28th of June, he effects a junction, i 840; at the close of the Zulu war returns to Europe, i 846; (Major-General Sir Evelyn) on the outbreak of the Transvaal war of independence in December 1880 he is sent from England as second in command of the British forces operating against the burghers, ii 122; upon the death of Sir George Colley on the 27th of February 1881 succeeds as commander in chief, administrator of Natal, and high commissioner for South-Eastern Africa, ii 124; on the 6th of March concludes an armistice with Commandant-General Joubert, ii 127; and on the 21st

terms of peace are agreed to, *ib.*; is then appointed member of a royal commission to arrange the terms of a convention with the Transvaal, *ii* 128

Wood & Co., traders:

in July 1881 land goods at Port St. John's without paying customs duties, *i* 181

WOOLLED sheep in the Cape Colony in 1891:

number of, *ii* 288

WORCESTER:

on the 16th of June 1876 the railway from Capetown is opened to, *i* 18; population in 1891 of, *ii* 288

WRIGHT, William:

in May 1878 becomes resident with Gangelizwe, *i* 44; in 1876 becomes chief magistrate of Tembuland Proper, *i* '48

XALANGA, part of Emigrant Tembuland:

in 1878 is made a magisterial district, *i* 148

XITO, Galeka tribal priest:

account of, *i* 98; is banished to Robben Island, where on the 14th of October 1888 he dies

XOSAS:

cattle thefts by, *i* 26; distinguished men among, *i* 28; condition of in 1876, *ib.*; number of individuals belonging to the tribe in 1891, *ii* 287

YROMANEY, the Cape mounted:

by Act 5 of 1878 are constituted, *i* 115; in February 1879 six hundred are called out to assist in the operations against Morosi, *ii* 44; on the 31st of October 1881 the three regiments are disbanded, *ii* 71

ZULULAND:

boundaries of as settled by Sir Garnet Wolseley in September 1879, when it is divided into thirteen independent districts, *i* 847; Sir Garnet Wolseley's so-called settlement breaks down almost at once, *ii* 1; when Ketshwayo is sent back to Zululand, all the land between the Umhlatusi and Tugela rivers is detached from his control and formed into a reserve, *ii* 6; on the 19th of May 1887 all of the country outside of the New Republic is annexed to the British dominions, *ii* 27; it is divided into six districts, named Etshowe, Nkandhla, Ngutu, Entonjaneni, Ndwandwe, and Lower Umvolosi, *ib.*; to each of which on the 21st of June a European magistrate is appointed, *ib.*; on the 30th of December 1897 it is annexed to Natal, *ii* 28

ZULU WAR:

costs Great Britain £5,188,000, *ii* 82

At the age of nearly eighty-two years I am compelled with great reluctance to lay down my pen, owing to bodily infirmity, particularly defective sight and hearing. I could desire to have a few months more at the Hague to make further researches in the records of the Dutch East India Company, and better still for time to study Arabic and look for and examine records in that language which I have reason to believe are still in existence and which would throw light upon the movements of the Bantu tribes towards the south in olden times; but that is not possible now. I must therefore ask the readers of my volumes to make allowances for any imperfections they may discover in them during those periods, and to bear in mind that this is a pioneer work and that the material for composing a history of South Africa is so great and so widespread that no single life is long enough to examine it all.

I have no fear that anything I have stated will be found to be incorrect, but that details can be added in many instances is more than probable. Indeed Professor Cory has already shown in his valuable work that by confining oneself to a limited period many details can be related that I have passed over. To the utmost extent of my ability I have striven to write impartially, to do justice to every section of the people, without fear, favour, or prejudice. In 1919 I think this will be generally admitted, though it was not twenty years ago, by men of either nationality in South Africa holding extreme views.

I wish now to express my warmest thanks to the various Educational, Historical, and Research associations in England, Holland, Portugal, Canada (my native country), and South Africa (the country in which the greatest part of my life has been spent), that have done me the honour—unsolicited in every instance by me—of electing me a member and thus encouraging me to persevere in my work. Also to every individual who has assisted me by giving me information or pointing out where information was to be had, my most sincere thanks are due. Only those who have had to contend with almost insurmountable difficulties, such as have been thickly strewn in my path, can appreciate the value of even a kindly cheering word given at a time when hope was almost dead and further exertion seemed nearly useless. It has been my good fortune to receive many such cheering words, and any success I have attained is very largely due to them.

G. M. T.

But a short time after the above was written, and before the proofs were corrected and made ready for the press, Dr. Theal, the indefatigable worker and pioneer in South African History, passed away. His death was worthy of his life. In spite of his sight and hearing having almost failed him, and with strength barely sufficient to raise himself in bed, he struggled with the proof sheets in the hope that the last of his work might be through the press before he died. But it was not to be. At twenty minutes to four on April 17, 1919, he begged his devoted daughter, Mrs. Stewart, who had been his constant help in his illness as well as in his work, to assist him from his bed to his chair and proof sheets. This exertion was then beyond his strength. At ten minutes to four he asked Mrs. Stewart to hold him up. She did so, and while resting upon her arm he quietly passed into Eternity.

Thus died Dr. Theal, who for nearly half a century had worked directly or indirectly at South African History, and has left a memorial to himself in the vast amount of material which he has collected, thus having opened paths along which future workers can travel.

That he was not unhonoured in his lifetime is evident from the following recognitions of his work:—

Elected Membre correspondant, Commission pour l'histoire des Eglises Wallonnes, 1888.

Member of the Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden.

Member of the Utrecht Historical Society, 1891.

Appointed Colonial Historiographer, 1891.

Hon. LL.D. Queen's University, Kingston, Canada.

Member of the Royal Academy of Amsterdam, 1896.

Hon. Lit.D. University of Cape of Good Hope, 1899.

Corresponding Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of Lisbon, 1913.

G. E. C.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA,
UNIVERSITY OFFICES,
SOMERSET HOUSE,
VERMUELEN STREET,
PRETORIA,
8th March, 1919.

ON the motion of Professor Cory, seconded by Professor Fouché, it was unanimously resolved that the Senate of the University of South Africa at present in session at Pretoria hereby records its sense of the importance and value of the lifelong labours of Dr. G. M. Theal in the field of historical research.

The Committee seizes this opportunity to express in the name of the Senate their deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Theal, both for his achievements and for the spirit in which they have been won. They wish to put on record their sense of the indebtedness of the intellectual world to him for what he has drawn from oblivion and made available for study.

They look forward with confidence to the establishment of a South African School of historians who must always regard him as their founder.

On behalf of the Senate:

(Signed)

LEO FOUCHÉ,
W. A. MACFADYEN
for self and
A. C. PATERSON.

DR. G. MCCALL THEAL,
WYNBERG,
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